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*Good Advice before it be too late : Being a Breviate for the Convention : Humbly represented to the Lords and Commons of England..*

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This piece is by the author of the former Tract, who expatiates upon his former model at rather greater length. "As the main drift of this project was only to reduce the power of the king without destroying the monarchy, or rendering it elective, it met many patrons and advocates without doors, though it was no farther regarded within than as it served to establish an opinion, That the throne was vacant, and that the people might fill it as they pleased : for as to the limitations of the royal power for the time to come they were equally dissatisfactory to those who were for adhering to the old king, and to those who were for chusing a new."—*Ralph*, II. 29.

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WHEREAS we cannot but be made very apprehensive by those several efficacious papers, such as Dr Burnet's, Mr Ferguson's, "A Word to the Wise;" and another as close, "Four Questions Debated," and the like; which go about, lest the swaying part of the nation should be so much intent upon one thing as that others be neglected; or lest they be so taken up with putting the crown upon an head most deserving it, as that they forget what is to be done first; which is, the consideration of the constitution of the realm, and the declaring that constitution, before any person be admitted into actual regiment; it being common for those who look but on one thing to be too sudden. We therefore judge it meet, that this ensuing paper, which was in a few copies given to some members of the houses, for preventing that evil, should also be made public, to go abroad with such papers as those of the former nature: For as it is wise in a people, when they make any compact, whether with their rulers or others, that though they believe the party they deal with to be the best in the world, to treat with him for all that, and be as punctual upon the terms, to make all secure, as if they were dealing with the worst; so it is also honest for them, in seeking the good of their country, to deny self-interest, and to prefer the benefiting a nation before the magnifying any single person whatsoever.

*The Breviate.*

The people of this nation are by birth a free people, who are born to a liberty of person and propriety in their goods and lands; and therefore England is rightly called a free state.

To understand the government, we must know that these two things are always to be distinguished, the Constitution and the Administration.

The constitution of a government does lie in the original agreement of the people, which they make between themselves, or with their intended governor or governors,

<sup>a</sup> State Tracts, both of which are to be found in the folio collection in three volumes.—*Orig. Note.*

before the government be set up, whether there be none before, or the former at an end.

When the people are in such a state, while there is no order of superiority or inferiority introduced, it is called a Community: When a ruler is chose, so that there is a ruling and ruled part, it is a society, or called a Commonwealth.

Let us suppose a company of families, that having no dependence on one another, nor any one having power over the other, yet living near each other, do find it convenient to join together in a society, for mutual defence against some foreign enemy, or for the reaping several advantages which they shall receive by it. The heads or representatives of these families assembled, are to consider what is to be done in order to these ends.

Three things more especially they must consult upon;

1. What government (as to the sort or kind) is best for them?
2. Who shall be governor or governors?

3. And by what laws or rules they shall govern, who are entrusted with the supreme power?

And more particularly, in relation to what measure of it they will allow them to have over their persons and estates, to use them as they have occasion for the public good. For when they are yet free in both, the governor can have power so far, but no farther than they at first consent. Whatsoever reservations of liberty the people make in their agreement, these are to be looked upon as their rights by the laws of the constitution, and essential thereunto, and consequently inviolable by any of these governors whom they set up for the administration; the very laws of the administration being void, so far as they interfere with any of these of the constitution.

The constitution and laws thereof being agreed upon, and it being impossible for human prudence to foresee all accidents which must be provided for, therefore as they arise, the administration necessarily must lie in these two things: The making farther laws (subordinate still to those foreprized) as occasion requires, and seeing them executed, that is, in legislation and judgment. The one is the business of the supreme authority, the other of the inferior magistrates or officers, and executioners of the same, according to that fundamental agreement made by the people.

Our government now, as constituted in order to this administration, is, we know, a mixt government. A government is known to be pure or mixt, by the placing the supreme authority. If the people place it singly in the king, or singly in the nobles, or singly in the people, then it is a pure monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy: But when it is placed in all three, it is a mixt government, as ours is, where there are no laws in the administration made but by king, lords, and commons.

These things I pursue only so far as is necessary to the reaching my main purpose, and the leading me to a right discernment of the present condition into which we are now brought in regard to this said government.

The supreme power of the nation being placed in a parliament, which is a corporation of king, lords, and commons, that is, the supreme authority residing in king, lords, and commons, as one corporation, there does appear, at this conjuncture, a dissolution of the government, a dissolution manifestly as to the exercise of it. This appearance does arise from the opening of the last scene; for the king being now gone, gone from his people, and departing from his government, that one corporation (we speak of) is broke; so that there remains now no subject for that supreme authority; it being evident that a parliament, wherein an essential point of our constitution does consist, cannot now be assembled: And the providence of God itself hath extraordinarily determined our case. If a king dies he hath a successor, and the right devolves upon him; but whilst the king lives he hath no successor, and the right remaining in him and no other, and he being divided from his lords and commons, the subject of



the supreme power, or this one corporation (whereof the king is a chief, essential, and constituent part) does perfectly cease, and must necessarily cause a dissolution.

I chuse not to found this upon what does more convince others, which comes to this account : The king, by his frequent malversation in the government, and rooted design of subverting our religious and civil rights, for the introduction of arbitrary power and popery, which being aggravated by such an endeavour, as the destroying that share in the government which every commoner hath that hath a right to chuse his representative in parliament, by his garbling corporations, and so evacuating this liberty in effect ; and by such an endeavour also as the exterminating his protestant subjects, seeing that religion which he would have introduced is such as, by the principles of it, if it comes into denomination, must do so to all heretics ; and thereupon may he be looked on no longer as *Rex*, but *Hostis*, and *Hostis Publicus* : Besides, the subjecting us to a foreign jurisdiction, and the very changing the government, by that indefinite dispensing power over the laws as was carved to him by his judges, from regal to despotical, it is judged by them that he is fallen thereupon from his royal dignity ; and that the universality thereby have warrant not only to defend themselves against him, but by virtue of that sanction, which is tacitly implied in the laws of the constitution, to proceed on to take the forfeiture he hath made of his government, and depose him : For it is a fond thing (think they) to imagine any laws without a sanction ; and impossible there should be any other sanction in treaties between free nations, or between a free people, and the governor they set over themselves, than force to be used by the parties concerned ; there being no third party on earth to appeal to in such cases.

However this be, it being taken for granted that the government is dissolved, and I suppose upon that preceding account, of the one corporation (I say) being broke, the supreme authority that lay before in the three as united in one, does escheat or fall to the community ; who must therefore chuse a new subject for that power ; and it lies at their discretion to place it in what subject they please : They may lodge it in the lords and commons alone, without a king, if they think that government best ; the matter lies altogether upon their agreement and consent. I suppose it most likely, that they will agree to place it again in a monarch, lords, and commons (the person only left at choice, and care had to prevent all danger of law in the case) according to the ancient constitution ; though what man can know the mind of a nation, when once come together, if he knows his own mind ?

There is one thing we have now opportunity to obtain, which we can never recover again if it be lost, and that is, what his highness the Prince of Orange hath made one of his two designs, the delivery of the people from slavery ; which can never be done effectually and radically but upon this advantage. The delivering us from popery is contained in the settling our religion ; and that, being a work of great length, is the business more properly of a parliament ; but this is a thing must be done by the community, and consequently by those that are the representatives of it, a convention, so called (in regard to a higher capacity hereunto), and not a parliament ; for that represents the people, not as in a community but as in a commonwealth, where there is *pars imperans*, as well as *subdita*, which now is not. A parliament makes laws for the administration, but the people, as in a community, make laws for the constitution.

I would therefore humbly offer it to the consideration of those, who shall meet as members of this convention, that, in order to the effect premised, they do but agree and pitch upon this one certain point of good polity, that where they place the supreme authority, they lay also the rights or properties of it ; that is, the *Jura Majestatis* (*majestas* being *maxima potestas*) altogether.

The rights of majesty, or the supreme power, are mainly these : The first is legislation, or making laws ; and this undoubtedly lies in a parliament. The next is the power of raising arms, or armies, or the militia, the power of making peace and war,

or power of the sword, which is necessary to maintain those laws. The third is a power over our estates, or the purse, or raising money, which must maintain the sword. A fourth is, the power of chusing magistrates to rule us according to these laws; such as judges and sheriffs, to name no other. A fifth is, the last appeal. Now, let but the power of the militia and chusing magistrates be laid where legislation is, and we shall be fundamentally delivered from all slavery for ever in the nation.

If we be enslaved or oppressed by any prince for the time to come, it must be either by force or by injustice. We cannot be oppressed by force, because no forces then can be raised by him, but by a parliament. He cannot rule by an army, or by violence; for the militia is in the lords and commons as well as in him, and they will not let him do so: We cannot be oppressed with injustice; for the judges and officers entrusted with the execution of justice shall be chosen also by them, and they will look to that.

It is true, while no parliament sits, the king, by virtue of the executive power lying in him, may raise arms, and put in officers and magistrates as there is need; but both these are to be done under the control of the next parliament (which are therefore to sit often by ancient statutes,) there being no war to be levied, nor magistrates confirmed, without their approbation.

Let us remember the state we are in, a state that puts the supreme power in the hands of the people, to place it as they will: and therefore to bound and limit it as they see fit for the public utility; and if they do it not now, the ages to come will have occasion to blame them for ever. When the supreme power is upon the disposing, if they do not take this item as part of their proper work, "To bind the descent of it to a protestant," I shall blame them: But I shall do so much more, if, after the danger we have been in, of arbitrary domination and popery, by the king's raising arms, and putting judges in and out at his pleasure, they do not take more care of the supreme power, to lay it and its rights better together; especially seeing nothing can indeed be that in nature, which it is, without its properties. This is uniform (I must persist) to the nature of government, that where the supreme authority is, there must be its prerogatives; and where the chief or principal rights of it is, there should all the rest which depend upon and belong to it be placed also: Where legislation is lodged, there should the militia, there should the power of making judges, to name nothing more than serves my turn, be lodged also. It is this hath been the great declension, fault, or defect of our English commonwealth, that the people have suffered these rights of sovereignty to come to be divided, arising (we must conceive) from the administration, that is, mal-administration; as appears, for example, in the militia, which, upon the fresh coming in of the late king, was, in two or three hot acts, declared now and ever to have been in the king; when both the assertion was gross flattery, and such acts void, as fundamentally repugnant to the constitution.

There is one difficulty to be thought on, and that is, the negative voice of the prince in his parliament. The lords and commons may agree upon some law for the public benefit, and the king alone may refuse to pass it. If he be obstinate this is a great evil, and might really make one think, it would be better therefore (for the preventing this inconvenience) to place the supreme power in lords and commons only, without a controller. Unto which may be added, the power of calling and dissolving parliaments at pleasure; by virtue whereof, our kings hitherto have pretended a power predominant over them. But forasmuch as these prerogatives may be disputed, and the negative voice hath been denied by many judicious men, who have pleaded the obligation of former princes to confirm those laws, *quas vulgus elegerit*; it is to be hoped that the wisdom of the nation will be able to find out some expedient or salve for this difficulty, and for more than that also: so long as they have the golden opportunity to bring a crown in one hand, with their terms or conditions in the other.



As for the several grievances that need redress, and many good things that are wanting to complete the happiness of our kingdom, there may be some foundation laid happily, or preparations made in order thereunto by this convention; but as belonging to the administration, and being matters of long debate, they are the work more properly of an ensuing parliament. Only let not the members of this present great assembly forget, that they having so unlimited a power, and the nation such an opportunity, which, as the secular games, they are never like to see but once, they are more strictly therefore bound in conscience, and in duty to their country, to neglect no kind of thing which they judge absolutely necessary to the public good. I care not if I commend three or four such particulars against the time to consultation, which shall be these: A regulation of Westminster-hall; a provision against buying or selling of offices; a register of estates; a freedom from persecution (by a bill for comprehension and indulgence) in the business of religion; a redemption of the chimney-money, which, bringing the king to be lord of every man's house, is against property; and an overbalance in the revenue is against the interest of the nation.

The Breviate being ended, we cannot but reflect upon the king; there being so much concern in the minds of many, about their allegiance to him, though he be gone: but such persons as these should look a little more to the bottom, that a people is not made for the king, but the king for the people; and though he be greater than them in some respects, yet, *quoad finem*, the people are always greater than him: that is, if the good of the one and the other stand in competition, there is no comparison but a nation is to be preferred before one man. If the being of them be inconsistent one with another, there is no doubt but it is better that a king cease, than that a whole nation should perish. And, upon such a supposition as this, all obligations as to duty must cease likewise. There are some tacit conditions in all oaths, as the best casuists tell us (such as *Rebus sic stantibus* for one,) that we must steer our consciences by in these cases. *He is the minister of God for our good*, says the Scripture: And if any prince, therefore, be under those circumstances, as that it cannot be for the people's good that he should rule over them, we do look upon such a ruler to be bound in conscience to give up his government, as being no minister of God upon that account; and so, having no authority from God for that office, the people's obligation to be subject to him is at an end with it. If they obey him longer, it is for wrath, not for conscience sake. If his majesty now of Great Britain, out of some deep sense that he, being a Roman catholic, cannot rule, and be true to his religion, (which he may suppose does oblige him to an establishment thereof by all the ways and means of his church, though never so destructive to ours, but it will be to the hurt, not the good of us who are protestants) hath been pleased to withdraw himself from his government, to make us more quiet and happy, we are in all gratitude to acknowledge his piety, goodness, and condescension to be so much, as very few of his subjects could ever have suspected; but if it be out of another mind he hath done it, we have still more reason to bless Almighty God, who does often serve his providence by men's improvidence; and cutting off men's ends from their means, he uses their means to his own ends, when he is pleased to work deliverance for a people, as he hath at this season so graciously and wonderfully done for us, that there is nothing more needful, even to the most scrupulous conscience, than an humble and awful acquiescence in the Divine Counsel to give satisfaction in this matter.

*Reflections upon the present State of the Nation.*

Some person, who undertook to advocate the exclusive right of the Princess of Orange to occupy her father's throne, published this paper, which was afterwards republished under the title of "Proposals humbly offered in Behalf of the Princess of Orange." William, it is well known, spurned at the idea of holding a rank subordinate to that to which the princess should be raised, or, as he expressed it, declined being his wife's gentleman usher.

It is a maxim of the law of England concerning the government, that there is no *inter-regnum*. Of necessity there must be a change in the person, yet there is a continuation of the government; which shews the prudence and perfection of the constitution, in preventing that, which of all things is most deplorable, a failure of government. This rule is therefore of that importance, as not to be given up upon the trivial saying of *Nemo est hæres viventis*.

It is true, the common and ordinary cause of a change in the person that is invested with the royal authority is death.

But we are now in a rare and extraordinary case, where the king is living, and yet may be said to be divested of the royal office, as having, by his encroachments upon the people's rights, provoked them to resort to arms; and being vanquished by that force, followed with a total defection from him, and his relinquishing the kingdom thereupon, without providing any ways for the administration of the government.

This seems to be a *cesser* of this government, and may in civil and politic construction amount to as much as if he had died.

But because this is a *cess* of that nature that requires a judgment to be made upon it, it seems necessary to have a convention of the estates of the nation, to make a declaration thereupon (for it is not for private persons to determine in the cases aforesaid, how or when the king has lost his government) and until such authoritative declaration made, the king may be supposed in some kind of possession of the kingly office.

But after the judgment made and declared, there seems to be no difference in the consequence and result of the thing, between such an extraordinary case of the *cesser* of the royal dignity, and the case of death or voluntary resignation; or as if the king had been professed and made himself a recluse in a religious house.

Then it must devolve upon the next heir, her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange.

As to the pretended Prince of Wales, if there had been no suspicions as to his birth, (as there are many violent ones,) yet his being conveyed into unknown places, by persons in whom no credit can be reposed, and at an age which exposes him to all manner of practices and impostures, touching his person, then can there hereafter be no manner of certainty of him, so as to induce the nation ever to consider any pretence of that kind.



These things being considered :

*First*, Whether will not the declaring her royal highness queen of England, as next in succession, be the surest and best foundation to begin our settlement upon, rather than upon a groundless conceit of the government being devolved to the people, and so they to proceed to elect a king ?

*Secondly*, If that conceit of devolving to the people be admitted, whether must we not conclude, that the misgovernment of King James the Second hath not only determined his royalty, but put a period to the monarchy itself ? And then it is not only a loss as to his person, but to the whole royal family.

*Thirdly*, Whether those persons that have started this notion, upon pretence of giving the nation an opportunity of gratifying his highness the Prince of Orange, in proportion to his merits, (which it must be acknowledged no reward can exceed) if they were searched to the bottom, did not do it rather to undermine this ancient and hereditary monarchy, and to give an advantage to their republican principles, than out of any affection and gratitude to his highness ? For if the latter was that they had the chief respect to, would it not be the more proper way to declare her royal highness queen, which will immediately put the nation under a regular constitution and posture of government ? Then it will be capable of expressing its gratitude to the Prince of Orange, in matters touching even the royal dignity itself, without making such a stroke upon the government, as the electing of a king, or making any other immediate alteration in the right of the monarchy (before the parliament is completed and constituted in all its parts) must amount unto.

[*Out of Lord Somers's Collections.*]

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*A Speech to his Highness the Prince of Orange, by a true Protestant of the Church of England, as established by Law.*

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Besides those who boldly called upon the Prince of Orange to withdraw himself from the kingdom of Britain, the following author hints to him the same necessity, in a more insinuating and glosing manner ; giving him, however, to understand, after many professions of zeal for his person, and gratitude for his timely assistance, that the purpose of his invasion being now fully accomplished, the sooner he returned to Holland it would be so much the better. The concluding allusion to William's bad health is particularly insidious. This was one of the circumstances which chiefly obscured the political horizon :—" That which gave the most melancholy prospect was the ill state of the king's health, whose stay so long at St James's without exercise or hunting, which was so much used by him that it was become necessary, had brought him under such a weakness as was likely to have very ill effects ; and the face he forced himself to set upon it that it might not appear too much, made an impression upon his temper. He was apt to be peevish ; it put him under a necessity of being much in his closet, and of being silent and reserved, which agreeing so well with his natural disposition, made him go off from what all his friends had advised, and he had promised them to set about, of being more visible, open, and communicative. The nation had been so much accustomed to this in the two former reigns, that many studied to persuade him it would be necessary for his affairs to change his way, that he might be more accessible, and freer in his discourse. He seemed resolved on it ; but he said his ill health made it impossible for him to effect it ; and so he went on in his

former way, or rather he grew more retired, and was not easily come at nor spoke to. And in a very few days after he was set on the throne he went out to Hampton Court, and from that palace he came into town only on council days; so that the face of the court, and the rendezvous, usual in the public rooms, was now quite broke. This gave an early and general disgust.

—BURNET, IV. 2.

THERE is no good protestant, nor any body that loves the liberties of England, who must not (great sir) extol your undertaking, and bless God for your so great and so unbloody success; and those that are sensible how well you have used the power you have had in the world, must wish that that and your glory may increase; and what follows is far from designing the diminution of either: Pardon the expression, if I say it is to confirm you in your own noble resolutions, and to precaution you against the suggestions of such men as may cultivate their own interest with greater regard than your honour. Your honour lies in your keeping close to the sense of your first declaration: That declaration obliges you in the sense of most, and I think all honest men, "to refuse the false glitterings of a crown; restores us to our liberties, secures the protestant religion, is good and merciful even to papists, makes you the greater arbiter of Europe, gives you opportunity to resettle its peace, and call to an account that great disturber, the King of France, for the real invasions he has made upon it, and to punish him for the insolencies he has offered to yourself." This management will bespeak you great, without ambition; inspired with the Roman genius, which loved to "plant liberty and good manners more than empire." And though the king be restored to the title, and as much power as is useful and safe, yet we shall always bless when you are named, "join our arms unanimously with yours, to make all France happy by a restoration of the assembly of the estates, and to relieve the protestants too, by reviving the edict of Nants, to pull down the pride of that haughty man, and approve the English nation, under your banners, the scourge of tyrants." These are the great things you may chuse for your share, and I pray God direct you. But if, instead thereof, you pursue other measures, and you are either "crowned yourself, or allow your princess so to be," you must dethrone your own uncle and your wife's father, hazard our liberties by sudden and uncertain wars, "blemish the protestant religion with the deposing doctrine, unite the papal force, strengthen the French king, make your great self appear rather ambitious than a benefactor, create strong factions," such as you can never imagine will be composed, till the restoration of the king, if you seriously reflect upon our tempers, of which the present fermentations give some proof. Consider then, great sir, and be great by being good, that the present may adore, and after-ages for ever admire you. Let me add one thing more, which is seriously reflected upon by those that are even truest to the English and the protestant interest; which is, that it is in your power to prevail with the king, to give so much into the people's hands, as will make them safe; whereas, if the king by a high hand returns, he can then act without controul; and the infirmities which we are sorry to see in your health, makes it even doubtful whether nature has lent you time enough to finish so great enterprizes; and then, God knows what may be the sad bargain we shall be forced to strike at last: Consider therefore in time.

[*Out of Lord Somers's Collections.*]



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Qu. *Whether the King, Lords and Commons, now assembled, be a legal Parliament and may act as such.*

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“The crown having been at last settled by the lords and commons on the Prince and Princess of Orange, those who were dissatisfied with that settlement clamoured for a dissolution of the convention, which had made it: But the authors judging it highly imprudent to throw the nation into a new ferment, by giving way to a new election, prevailed with both houses to convert the said convention into a parliament, by an act for that purpose: And it was to reconcile the public to this expedient, that the following paper was set forth.”

To this note of the original editor may be added the reasoning of Bishop Burnet:—“The first thing proposed to be done was to turn the convention into a parliament, according to the precedent set in the year 1660. This was opposed by all the tories. They said writs were indispensable to the being of a parliament; and though the like was done at the Restoration, yet it was said that the convention was then called when there was no king nor great seal in England: And it was called by the consent of the lawful king, and was done upon a true and visible, and not on a pretended necessity. And they added that after all, even then, the convention was not looked on as a legal parliament: Its acts were ratified in a subsequent parliament; and from thence they had their authority. So it was moved that the convention should be dissolved, and a new parliament summoned; for in the joy which accompanied the Revolution, men well affected to it were generally chosen; and it was thought that the damp which was now spread into many parts of the nation, would occasion great changes in a new election. On the other hand, the necessity of affairs was so pressing that no time was to be lost: a delay of forty days might be the total loss of Ireland and stop all our preparations at sea; nor was it adviseable, in so critical a time, to put the nation into the ferment which a new election would occasion. And it was reasonable to expect, that those who had set the king on the throne would be more zealous to maintain him there, than any new set of men could possibly be. And those who submitted to the king *de facto*, must likewise submit to a parliament *de facto*.”—BURNET, iv. 8.

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I. THE necessity of a parliament, agreed by the lords and commons, voting that the throne is vacant; for there being a vacancy, there follows an immediate necessity of settling the government, especially the writs being destroyed, and the great seal carried away, put a period to all public justice; and then there must be a supply by such means as the necessity requires, or a failure of government.

II. Consider the antecedents to the calling the convention; that is, about three hundred of the commons, which is a majority of the fullest house that can be made; above sixty lords, being a greater number than any part divided amounted to at this meeting; the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, by application to his then highness the Prince of Orange, desired him to accept of the administration of public affairs, military and civil, which he was pleased to do, to the great satisfaction of all good people; and after that his highness was desired to issue forth his circular letters to the lords, and the like to the coroners, and in their absence to the clerks of the peace, to elect knights, citizens, and burgesses. This was more than was done in fifty-nine for the calling a parliament in April 1660; for there the

summons was not real, but fictitious, (*i. e.*) in the names of the keepers of the liberties of England; a mere notion set up as a form, there being no such persons, but a mere *ens rationis*, impossible really to exist: So that here was much more done than in 1659, and all really done which was possible to be invented, as the affairs then stood. Besides, King Charles the Second had not abdicated the kingdom, but was willing to return, and was at Breda, whither they might have sent for writs, and in the mean time have kept their form of keepers of the liberties, &c. But in the present case there was no king in being, nor any style or form of government, neither real or notional, left; so that in all these respects, more was done before and at the calling of this great convention, than for calling that parliament (for so I must call it,) yet that parliament made several acts, in all thirty seven, as appears by Keeble's statutes, and several of them not confirmed. I shall instance but in one, but it is one which there was occasion to use in every county of England; I mean the act for confirming and restoring ministers, being the 17th of that sessions; all the judges allowed of this as an act of parliament, though never confirmed, which is a stronger case than that in question; for there was only fictitious summons, here a real one.

III. That without the consent of any body of the people, this, at the request of a majority of the lords, more than half the number of the commons duly chosen in King Charles the Second's time, besides the great body of the city of London, being at least esteemed a fifth part of the kingdom; yet after the king's return, he was so well satisfied with the calling of that parliament, that it was enacted by the king, lords and commons, assembled in parliament, that the lords and commons then sitting at Westminster in the present parliament, were the two houses of parliament, notwithstanding any want of the king's writ or writs of summons, or any defect whatsoever, and as if the king had been present at the beginning of the parliament: this I take to be a full judgment in full parliament of the case in question, and much stronger than the present case is, and this parliament continued till the 29th of December next following, and made in all thirty-seven acts, as above mentioned.

The 13th Charles II. chap. 7. (a full parliament called by the king's writ) recites the other of 12th of Charles II. and that after his majesty's return they were continued till the 29th of December, and then dissolved, and that several acts passed: This is the plain judgment of another parliament.

1. Because, it says, they were continued, which shews they had a real being, capable of being continued; for a confirmation of a void grant has no effect, and confirmation shews a grant only voidable, so the continuance there shewed it at most but voidable; and when the king came and confirmed it, all was good.

2. The dissolving it then, shews they had a being; for, as *ex nihilo nihil fit*, so *super nihil nil operatur*—as out of nothing, nothing can be made; so upon nothing, nothing can operate.

Again, the king, lords and commons, make the great corporation or body of the kingdom, and the commons are legally taken for the freeholders, *inst. 4. p. 2.* Now the lords and commons having proclaimed the king, the defect of this great corporation is cured, and all the essential parts of this great body politic united and made complete, as plainly as when the mayor of a corporation dies, and another is chosen, the corporation is again perfect; and to say that which perfects the great body politic should in the same instant destroy it, I mean the parliament, is to make contradictions true, *simul et semel*, the perfection and destruction of this great body at one instant, and by the same act.

Then, if necessity of affairs was a forcible argument in 1660, a time of great peace not only in England, but throughout Europe, and almost in all the world, certainly it is of a greater force now, when England is scarce delivered from popery and slavery; when Ireland has a mighty army of papists, and that kingdom in hazard of final destruction, if not speedily prevented; and when France has destroyed most of the pro-



testants there, and threatens the ruin of the Low-countries, from whence God has sent the wonderful assistance of our gracious, and therefore most glorious king; and England cannot promise safety from that foreign power, when forty days delay, which is the least can be for a new parliament, and considering we can never hope to have one more freely chosen, because first it was so free from court-influence, or likelihood of all design, that the letters of summons issued by him, whom the great God in infinite mercy raised to save us, to the hazard of his life, and this done to protect the protestant religion, and at a time when the people were all concerned for one common interest of religion and liberty, it would be vain when we have the best king and queen the world affords, a full house of lords, the most solemnly chosen commons that ever were in the remembrance of any man living, to spend money and lose time (I had almost said to despise Providence) and take great pains to destroy ourselves.

If any object acts in parliament mentioning writs and summons, &c.

I answer the precedent in 1660 is after all those acts.

In private cases, as much has been done in point of necessity; a bishop provincial dies, and *sede vacante* a clerk is presented to a benefice; the presentation to the dean and chapter is good in this case of necessity; and if in a vacancy by the death of a bishop a presentation shall be good to the dean and chapter, rather than a prejudice should happen by the church lying void, surely, *à fortiori*, vacancy of the throne may be supplied without the formality of a writ, and the great convention turned to a real parliament.

A summons, in all points, is of the same real force as a writ; for a summons and a writ differ no more than in name, the thing is the same in all substantial parts; the writ is recorded in Chancery, so are his highness's letters; the proper officer endorses the return, so he does here, (for the coroner, in defect of the sheriff, is the proper officer;) the people chuse by virtue of the writ, so they did freely by virtue of the letters, &c. *et quæ re concordant parum differunt*, they agree in reality, and then what difference is there between the one and the other?

*Obj.* A writ must be in actions at common law, else all pleadings after will not make it good, but judgment given may be reversed by a writ of error.

*Ans.* The case differs; first, because actions between party and party are adversary actions, but summons to parliament are not so, but are mediums only to have an election.

2. In actions at law, the defendant may plead to the writ, but there is no plea to a writ for electing members to serve in parliament; and for this I have Littleton's argument, there never was such plea, therefore none lies.

*Obj.* That they have not taken the test.

*Ans.* They may take the test yet, and then all which they do will be good; for the test being the distinguishing mark of a protestant from a papist, when that is taken, the end of the law is performed.

*Obj.* That the oaths of allegiance and supremacy ought to be taken, and that the new ones are not legal.

*Ans.* The convention being the supreme power, have abolished the old oaths, and have made new ones; and as to the making new oaths, the like was done in Alfred's time, when they chose him king; *vide* Mirror of Justice, chap. 1. for the heptarchy being turned to a monarchy, the precedent oaths of the seven kings could not be the same King Alfred swore.

Many precedents may be cited, where laws have been made in parliament, without the king's writ to summon them, which, for brevity's sake, I forbear to mention.

For a farewell; the objections quarrel at our happiness, fight against our safety, and aim at that which may endanger destruction.

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*A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Correspondent in the City, concerning the Coronation Medal, distributed April 11th, 1689.*

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"A specimen," says the former editor, "that Jacobitism begun with the same spirit of misrepresentation and false prophecy, in which it has subsisted."—The topics seized upon are exactly those which were likely to influence the public feeling at the moment of revulsion, and the treatise is written with a good deal of malignant wit.

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SIR,

You have obliged me very much by the account you gave me of the coronation: but I have had some remarks from another hand, concerning the truth of which I suspend my judgment till you inform me better.

I shall give you the relation in the very words as I received it. There was one thing which much afflicted all true Englishmen, because it is believed it never happened since William the Conqueror's time; which was, that a king and queen of England should make their procession at the coronation through a treble rank of armed horse and foot, all foreigners. It grieved us all to see, that for want of some interpreters betwixt them and the multitude, which usually press upon such occasions, an infinite of the poor English, even well-wishers to the new king and queen, were not only rudely treated with stern countenances and Dutch curses, but continually pushed back with the butt-ends of the soldiers muskets, or the serjeants halberts, and sometimes received broken heads, or as dangerous bruises, if they did but endeavour to get nearer. I saw myself many persons knocked and pushed upon the breast with the troopers pistols, and pricked with their swords, for endeavouring to crouch under the horses heads, and when one offered to get nearer through the ranks of horsemen, where they found protection at former coronations by their own countrymen, these rude strangers were sure to check their horses, and make them curvet or turn round, which could not be without the hazard of breaking their legs, or bruising those that were in the way. I need not mention the tossing and pushing men and women from place to place, and dragging them through the kennels, more like slaves, nay dogs, than Christians, which made many spectators sigh and pity the condition of several hundreds whom they saw so used; whilst others were not afraid to say, what most I believe thought, that this was but the beginning, and a light matter in comparison of what the whole body of the English nation (who are not now, it seems, to be confided in) must suffer under these new Lord-Danes before the king can be settled in his throne, that he may safely dismiss his foreign force; nay some, they say, had their skulls broken and died in the crowd, though this is endeavoured to be stifled. Neither do you mention the unlucky quarrel my correspondent tells me the king had; nor the Duke of Norfolk's fall from his horse, when he ushered in the champion, which were something ominous.

The gold medal you sent me, the true meaning of which you desire me to explain, gave me and some friends of mine no small diversion. And to deal plainly with you, I think the contriver of it hath done their majesties little service.



I need not tell you that the custom of stamping medals (upon whose reverses the inaugurations, victories, or great achievements of princes or generals, were represented either expressly or by some emblem) is as old as the first coinage of money by the Grecians and Romans. Nor that in the last century and this they have been improved, and many ingenious devices invented suitable to the noble enterprises which were by those means to be perpetuated, and are to be found in the repositories of princes, or published by Luchius and others on that subject. Insomuch, that we find even John of Leyden, after he had gotten entire possession of Munster, and filled it with his crew of anabaptists, notwithstanding his pretended sanctity and mortification, coined several medals, which were indeed very ominous to him; for this mushroom-king sprung from Holland, continued not above six months before he was hung up in an iron cage, with some of his complices, upon the top of a tower in Munster.

I might give you various instances of auspicious inaugural medals, but that I intend this only as a letter. Therefore I shall proceed to the present medal, which of what nature it will be time alone must shew; yet I foresee it will give great occasion to the maligners of our new-crowned king and queen to pass their malicious censures on it.

One of my friends viewing the two faces of the king and queen, said, that such conjunctions in medals had oftentimes proved unfortunate; for he had, not long since, by him the medal made for the two Dewitts, which much resembled this, if the head attire had not been different, whose inhuman butchery by the mobile of Amsterdam, gave the very first rise to the then blooming Prince of Orange's greatness: and all the world (says he) knows that King Philip and Queen Mary of England, and King Henry and Queen Mary of Scotland, whose faces and names were joined in their coins and medals, were not very fortunate. But I told him, since the parliament had joined them in the sovereignty, they could not be disjoined in their coin, and I doubted not but their fortunes would be alike, good or bad.

When I received the reverse, I was heated into an indignation that any person should be so indiscreet as to choose an emblem upon such an occasion, so subject to misinterpretation as this would be. For as Julius Cæsar said to his wife Calphurnia, "That it was not enough that she should be innocent, but that she ought to be so cautious in all her actions, that she should be free even from suspicion," so ought it to be with emblems and medals; they ought to signify and express so clearly the worth and greatness of those princes actions which they represent, that no sinister interpretations might be made of them. And this indignation was increased by the reflection which a gentleman made, who first looked upon the reverse with me.

This gentleman seeing a chariot, but not understanding the Latin inscription, and having heard the town talk of Tullia, who instigated her husband Tarquinius to kill her father Servius Tullius, king of the Romans, that he might succeed him in the throne, and, as Livy says, "Caused her chariot to be driven over his mangled body;" cried out, "Is this Tullia's chariot?" This, I say, shocked me, and raised my anger against the contriver, who had chosen so ill an emblem, which, upon so superficial a view, brought such an odious history into men's minds.

Another by-stander seeing the figure which represented Phaëton, whom the poets feign to have obtained leave of his father Phœbus to guide his chariot for one day, and who, by his want of skill to govern the fiery horses, had like to have set the world on fire, had not Jupiter struck him dead with a thunder-bolt, exclaimed against the emblem as full of ill omens, and said, "That the people knowing that this king and queen had, not by permission, but by violence, ascended their father's throne, would look upon this as his chariot which they drive, and interpreted Jupiter's thunder-bolt as a sign of some judgment of God impending over our gracious prince, for this, which he called, an unnatural usurpation."

This made my cheeks and ears to burn, and I told them, they were both extremely wide of the inventor's meaning. For by Phaëton he meant King James, who, by misgovernment, had endangered the destruction of this kingdom, and that God having compassion on his church and people, had struck him from his régál seat.

But another gentleman then present said, "That although he verily believed that was the contriver's meaning, yet there were so many exceptions to the congruity of that fable with the circumstances of King James's reign, that he might as well have offered the war of the giants against Jupiter, as this, to represent the inaugural glory of our king and queen, which ought to have been the only subject to be considered."

He said, that Phaëton could never represent King James, since the throne or chariot belonged solely to him, as hereditary lawful king; neither could it be said that he had asked any one's leave to guide it. But that all men knew an usurper was the moral of Phaëton in the fable, and an usurper in his father's reign.

Moreover, (said he) if King James must be Phaëton, then King William must be Jupiter that struck him out of his chariot, or Phœbus that reassumed it after he had been thunderstruck; and how disagreeable this was to the whole scope of the fable, was obvious to every school-boy that read Ovid's metamorphosis. Nay, he farther affirmed, that this emblem seems to presage King James's returning to his throne again, and if so, it would be congruous in almost all its circumstances.

I must confess, sir, I could not heartily contradict this gentleman, but wished the author had either consulted books or men, for a more significant and unexceptionable emblem. But since he has been so unfortunate, if not malicious, if you know the person, advise him to get himself included in the act of indemnity; it being a crime equal to the counterfeiting the king's coin, to contrive a coronation emblem that gives such occasion of censure and reflection to the malcontents and maligners of King William, our present Phœbus, from whom we expect a wonderful deliverance.

• *April the 16th, 1686.*

Sir, I'm yours.

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*Honesty is the best Policy. 1688.*

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A Jacobite tract, written to promote what the party long hoped for as a probable event, the restoration of the Stuart family. The active friendship of the French king seemed to place this event within the bounds of probability when the treatise first appeared.

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THOUGH men are so transported, yet nevertheless I will at this juncture endeavour to shew every party what infinite hazards they have run, what great losses they have sustained by partial notions, unreasonable aversions, and bigotries; and because I would yet heal and compose all our differences, I shall avoid all sarcasm and levity of expression, and likewise because I rather consider the dispute between the king and his people, than between him and the Prince of Orange; for I believe no unbiassed wise man can, even now, in his conscience, think the prince has dealt honourably or religiously by his wife's father, and his own uncle, unless the Cameroman Reflector, where he talks



of the difference betwixt kingdoms and families, had proved it more lawful to steal crowns than trifles, or rob so near relations than other men. The king and mankind must forgive me, if justice command *insandum renovare dolorem*, to look a little into the causes of the late civil wars. I am the farthest man alive from justifying the execrable murder of King Charles the First, but on the other hand I cannot say the people began that war without great provocations from the ministers of those days. I believe the laws of England make the kings of it unaccountable in their own persons; but the monopolies, the loans, the ship-money, and illegal imprisonments, &c. were real grievances. How fatal that war was both to the king's and parliament's party; how horrid in the issue of it in relation to the royal blood, may be read in our histories, and is felt in our constitution. But whence originally came all those misfortunes? If any man tells me long stories of the religious contentions, I must confess I blame them, and I allow they had their weight; but I take the root of those great evils to proceed from defects in our civil constitution: I will point out the defects, but I neither have authority nor genius to propose the remedies. Ever since King Henry the Seventh's time, the nature and element of the English government have been altered. All regular governments (call them, and let the titles of their magistracy be what you please) partake of all the three several sorts, but there are in all climates ebbings and flowings of the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical particles of the composure, and all the councils of state must be proportioned to those alterations. Take a view of our government before Henry the Seventh's time, and you find a monarch whose basis is aristocracy, but if you will reflect solidly how he has stood since, it is upon the foot of the people. Queen Elizabeth understood this, and governed happily; and her ministers, Cecil, Essex, Raleigh, Walsingham, &c. were less her minions than they were the favourites of the people: Though her title was disputable, protestancy but new, Spain powerful and ambitious, yet by pursuing large measures, and taking beloved men into her councils, and by suffering them to advise honestly, she was too hard for all the difficulties she met with, and after a long reign laid down her head in peace. I think princes may learn lessons out of her life, yet I will not be her panegyrist, for I think she was sometimes arbitrary, but herein I think she excelled, to wit, that when any thing began to be generally disliked, she soon heard the voice of the people, and gave way to the impetuosity of national discontents, and so was a greater mistress of crown-craft than most of her predecessors, or those that succeeded her. King Charles I., though a prince of many royal virtues, was a little too tenacious of his purposes, and thought himself a greater judge of national exigencies than a House of Commons think any king ought to be; and after all the schemes of the schools, and the advices of flatterers, no king of these kingdoms can sit sure that is not well with parliaments. There are propensities to which all constitutions of state must be adjusted, and the bodies of men will every where be too hard for all speculations. A thirst after liberty expelled the kings of Rome, and there were indications of almost absolute monarchical dispositions in the factions of Marius, Scylla, and Catiline, before Cæsar's perpetual dictatorship; the revolt of the Low-Countries from the Spanish government, when in all its height and strength, shews no armies can be too hard for universal resolution, and is a *memento* to all crowned heads, that where a monarch will strain the bonds of government in despite of the people, they will break them. When the barons were able to make war upon slight pretences, if the kings kept fair with the barons they were safe; but the crown, the barons, and the greater gentry since the barons, could sell their lands, and the court of wards has been taken away, and the crown has disposed of its lands, so can govern no longer securely than they have reputation with the people. Government must follow, in a great measure, the nature of the tenures, and there must be an Agrarian law for power, where the lands are so distributed. You see I have started many bold hints, but I am not willing to draw them out at length, nor to write

over closely where I may endanger the good opinion of all sides ; but I will conclude upon this point, that since the princes have had an inclination to greater power than the people will comply with, and the people a stronger lust after liberty than our kings were willing to satisfy, that the one has mistaken prerogative, and the other as much their privileges, it would be well if a new Magna Charta was made to explain and assert each ; this would be a happy conclusion of our troubles, this would turn our swords into plough-shares, and has been heretofore the most warrantable product of those stirs that mal-administration occasioned. Thus our parliaments could not be corrupted, nor our judicial proceedings be precarious. Englishmen have now an opportunity to secure these good things, for since Providence has itself been pleased so to order it, that the king has been defeated in Ireland, and the French have received so great a loss at sea, we have no longer reason to dread a French or an Irish conquest ; and the king cannot but now know, that he can never come to wear the crown of these nations unless he will make such condescensions as are proper for our circumstances, and are necessary to secure both our religion and our property. I have been with him since his exile, and the last words he said to me were, " That he sent me home to make a bargain with his people ; " but I did not meet with people whose minds were prepared to propose just and equitable expedients. He knows I would not make ill conditions for my country. I have been suspected of being over nice and zealous for it. I confess I am more concerned for its welfare than for all my own nearest and dearest interests, yet I can very well comply with the equal and hereditary monarchy of England. I never was an enemy to the word *monarchy*, nor designed to interrupt the succession of the crown ; nor do I think it the interest of any man that loves peace, and these nations, to do it : On the contrary, I this day affirm, though we ought always to have expected terms from King James, or have sent them to him, we ought not (though I would have good ones) even now to make such as would make him justly uneasy, so unreasonable ones as would be unfit for him to grant. We must deal impartially if we would ever compose things ; we ought to shew our claim, or at least our necessity, and we ought to couch things in such words as, though they speak plainly our sense, may have a due regard to his dignity. Forgiveness and righteousness have been preached to him as the certain establishment of his throne ; he has been humbled by afflictions ; he has heard of his mistakes, and has hearkened to free advice ; he has reason to have it, and he has temper, and perhaps both he and we may be the better for our tribulations if we once accommodate our disputes. I never flattered the king. I have spoken plainer to him than I write now, and I believe I am not the less acceptable to him for my plainness ; and as to any objection and scruple that may be raised by a declaration that is published in his name, I must say I know no more than he that reflects upon it whether it be King James's declaration or no ; for about three years since there was a declaration published in his name, for the spreading of which several people were imprisoned, that I was afterwards told (by the author) King James knew nothing of. And I must say further, that that declaration which has been lately published does not answer to the spirit I left him in many months ago ; for, as I said, he told me he sent me to make a bargain, to know what it was his people would have. I cannot answer for what accounts other people sent him, but I am sure he will so far justify me as to say I have been ever against excepting men's lives or fortunes. I have been ever for being very explanative about the liberties of my country, and if any body with him, or any here, have led him into measures that are disgustful to the people, I think I may boldly aver it is misinformation, and not malice, that makes him liable to misconstruction. Those that wish for the best things are the shyest, have ever been too shy towards him ; and it is not impossible that this government may bribe somebody to give



too plausible names and reasons for those things that may turn to the king's prejudice, as some did here before the Prince of Orange came; but the day that he really refuses from any sort of men, that can shew a probability of bringing him home, any proposals that have tendency to universal good, he gives leave to his subjects to have recourse to the laws of self-preservation; then, and not till then, he abdicates his crown.

This is speaking plain English; you see I speak plainly concerning what the king must do, therefore let me also speak some plain truths, and rehearse some matters of fact to my countrymen; and here I will begin with asserting, that if the people would be true to themselves at the restoration, and careful in the elections of members to parliament, we need no other treaty but what the king will be forced to make good in the first sessions. We need not fear French or papists; we are too large and too brave a country to be a plantation. France cannot spare from off the continent men enough to govern us contrary to our inclinations; and though our historians talk of our being conquered, any man of sense sees it was by composition; it was from parties within, and not from force without us. As for the Roman catholicks, their numbers are inconsiderable, and though they have good estates, and some men of great natural sagacity amongst them, yet their having been out of business keeps them from understanding the knack and turns of it; and, whatever weak people think, a king of that persuasion, in a protestant country, is, more properly than any other laws can make him, a *de bene placito* king. Sir William Temple's Observations upon the Netherlands, and his Essay upon Governments, can never be too often read by prince or people; the one may be taught by it how to govern, and the other cured of unreasonable fears. Standing armies are the justest dread to civil liberties; but they are many ways as dangerous to kings as they can be to their people. A beloved general may turn their competitor, and every mutiny shakes their thrones; and the king that will make his subjects slaves by their hands, must be as much and more a slave to them. If the troops are foreign, he must be the tributary and vassal of that prince who lends them; and if they are home-bred forces, the dispositions of the populace will infect the army. But besides all this, no country, though they may maintain forces enough to suppress a sudden insurrection, can possibly maintain enough to govern contrary to the general genius of the nation. The people of Turkey hold all their lands of the crown, and like their government: And as for the peasants of France, they talk daily of their grand monarch. An ill-concerted conspiracy may miscarry; hot-headed men may expect too soon to fire their countrymen, but general dissatisfactions are no more to be withstood than general conflagrations: When necessity and self-preservation arm men, let their weapons be what they will, they will cut their way through all opposition. Indeed if a people are divided, as we are, the danger must be common, or very notorious, before they make use of their intrinsick power: But if some laws were enacted to keep ecclesiastick controversies out of the pulpit, and the people were not taught to believe what in cases of extremity human nature will never practise; if divines are not suffered to dispose of the kingdoms of this world, civil crimes and rights will be soon called by their proper names, and we shall recover our liberties in a parliamentary way before things grow desperate; it is dangerous, and ought to be criminal, for them to pretend to set up the boundaries of government; they may preach in general submission to authority, but they are not to bring texts of scripture, and much less Aristotle's Ideas, or Xenophon's Cyrus, to overthrow our statute books and depreciate the laws of England. By an act of parliament in the time of King James I., no man who was not bachelor in divinity, was to preach about predestination or free will, because that controversy then troubled the church; and sure I am that the clergy of no degree ought to preach about the prerogative and our privileges: Their state is not generally great enough to keep them from flattery and sinister interpretations, by which too many of their predecessors have been raised to church dignities. They understand not our laws, nor have they much

credit, for these reasons, with the people; and they ought now to have less, since so many of their coat have prevaricated. In a word, they ought, by their function, to understand the mysteries of religion, and leave the *Arcana Imperii* to the lay-men. They ought to be punished if they call men idolaters, schismatics, fanatics, rebels, traitors, seditious persons, with the &c. of their Billingsgate rhetoric. Liberty of conscience will make one part ill manners; and crimes against the state are proper for the cognizance of the civil power: nor do I believe it was ever bettered by the interposition of any sort of priests; nor indeed is religion itself the better for the affection of the gentlemen of that robe to intermeddle with matters merely temporal; but, God knows, they are too often buzzing that this and that thing is republican, and they have needless apprehensions for their church. As for the commonwealth principles, scarce any body carries them so far as to be against having a single person at the head of our affairs; and as for chopping and changing kings, or rebelling when there is occasion, I do not find the church of England is so much behind hand with any other sect: she can lead the dance, and though she may pretend weariness before it is at an end, yet she can comply for company. But, after all this is said, I think her, of all the several churches, the best for this nation, and so do almost all Englishmen, which leads me, as the parsons phrase it, to shew the unreasonableness of her fears. As much as the church of England-men have caressed and wrote for an arbitrary power, "nothing else can pull down their church;" and she might see, by what followed the two tolerations since the royal blood was restored, that however she has treated the dissenters, they will never join to pull down the church of England and let in popery; nor will she ever again be wormed out of her discipline, if she never yields to comprehension, "or is not too plainly an enemy to civil securities." But I have made too long a digression, and perhaps some may uncharitably think I like too much the subject matter of it; but I only design the good of the clergy, and the general peace of England. No man can have a greater value than myself for all those of that order who are serious Christians and sufferers for their principles; but if they will consider how many of those that were in the late civil wars and in this revolution, went constantly to the church of England, they will not think it very adviseable for princes to govern themselves, by supposing that men will live up to doctrines that (I shall not say) are mistaken in idea, but only assert that they are too self-denying to be expected in practice from our profligate age. I make profession of great plainness, but I beg a candid interpretation from the church of England for what I have said, and from the whigs of all sorts for what I am about to say to them: I think they have not made the wisest use of the kings they have quarrelled with, and that they are too frantically apprehensive of slavery. There are great lengths that all mankind will go with them; many of the church of England joined with their principles at the beginning of the late civil wars, and their consciences did not misgive them till they had humbled that unfortunate prince into such concessions as would have effectually secured the rights of Englishmen. Let any body look over the offers that king made, and especially at the Isle of Wight treaty, and then tell me whether there was any reason to bring the reproach of King Charles's murder upon these nations. I am not just if I do not say the whigs are too soon displeased and carry their points too far, and that they over-rate their numbers; the men of the best quality and estates have generally a mind to peace, and are not so eager for critical reformations. Some of the whigs therefore start grievances before others feel them, and are hazarding our very fundamentals for the chimeras of a warm imagination and a punctilious nicety, which jollier heads and sweeter natures can never comprehend; and at last they weaken themselves by subdivisions, for they spin their thread too fine, their speculations are scarce practical, and end in vision; though they are for liberty in religion, they are for persecution, for fire and faggot, for



extremity in politicks. The bulk of freeholders will stick by essentials, but the whigs almost nick-name their own notions, and then it is no wonder if the Tories take them for searebrows and bullbeggars, and that the propagators of such doctrines are represented unreasonable men, rather beaux-femmes than patriots; you out-word your own opinions, and you talk hyperboles and catachreses, and the Tories think you lunatics because they do not understand your language. You ought seriously to consider your numbers, and you will not find disproportion enough between you and those Tories, to make it reasonable that they should wholly subscribe your state creed; and perhaps there will be less reason if you look back, and find that though some fierce men of that party (and God knows there are such men in all parties) may have been for screwing up monarchy too high, yet many that are for supporting the church of England and limited successive monarchy, have always joined in all honest and moderate things. Indeed, when King Charles II. returned, his first parliament gave him more power than they were afterwards willing he should keep; but were not the whigs as mad at the inauguration of the Prince of Orange? If the church of England in the reign of that prince did not hunt so hard when the popish plot was on foot, I suppose many of you are at this day convinced you were too keen, and that the business was a little over-swore. They opposed the bill of exclusion, without peradventure being in the right of it; for it was purely personal in its regards, loving one man more than liberty, and hating another more than slavery; and miserable is that people whose security is more from the temper or religion itself of the magistrate than the constitution of the government. I cannot but bemoan what we lost by your heat at that time. If you say the church of England *quo warranto*ed corporations, they did it no more than the fanatics regulated them. I think it unjust to charge parties with the faults of particular persons: There was but a few of either party concerned in either of those evil steps, and 'tis as unjust to take away the reputation of either party for the miscarriages of those few, as to take away charters for personal mal-administrations; and I am confident, that even all the non-swearers of the church of England would have been willing to have ascertained our constitution, and secured our administration when the Prince of Orange came; they were weary of pretended unlimited prerogative, to say no more, and I think I ought not, if I would please them or you. But pray what harm had it been if we had not changed the name of our king, if we had altered the complexion of affairs? Is it not a shame that Sir Thomas Clarges and Sir Christopher Musgrave, &c. should have consulted amendment more than those that have taken the degree of doctors at the King's-Head club and at Richard's coffee-house? Is it not a shame that you would not make the embryos of necessary insurrections less liable to prosecution in the last session, and that you could in the convention suspend the *habeas corpus*, though when you gave the crown you declared it a fundamental right? If you have liberty to elect kings, why are you so angry at those that will chuse their old one again, and perhaps upon more honest limitations than you created your's? The word *limitation* puts me in mind that I promised to shew that you are too violently apprehensive of slavery, and therefore I will once again say you did not make the best use of your victories over King Charles I., because you brought them to a point wherein the consciences of most rebuked them, and wherein the generality were not likely to succumb; and you were as indiscreet in the management of King Charles the Second's timorous nature, who would have denied scarce any thing but the bill of exclusion at the time that that was first on foot, and indeed would have found no party to buoy him up in the denial of any thing else. To obviate your unreasonable fears of slavery, I beseech you to consider whether history gives an account of any people that have been made slaves but by their own inclinations to be so, unless by an entire conquest; and I once again affirm, it is not in the power of France to conquer England, unless by our own divisions, and

those divisions would soon cease if we did not oppose the bringing home King James upon civil securities. The Prince of Orange hates the persons of the whigs, and more their principles, and makes all those of them he employs change them, or at least act against them; yet their implacable hate to King James will not let them, though they have so much punished him and themselves, forgive errors in him which they commend in this man; and if King James is ever restored, it will be easy to misrepresent their notions, by reason of the men that profess them: Whereas, would they plead for their liberties under a restoration, and not talk in prejudice of the established worship of the church, (to pull down which is neither the business nor the desire even of any wise dissenter,) the church of England will join to ask and expect all things that can make our constitution happy and stable, not only under any popish but under all kings. Reflect seriously whether the body of the nation, which is mostly composed of the church of England, has not been struggling these last fifty years for more liberty; this may instruct the whigs that they need not fear the loss of it, and King James that he must give it. The nature of our situation, of our tenures, of our inclosures, and especially of our people, is a full security that we shall never lose our beloved liberty and property, unless the whig party are so unreasonable that they chuse to embroil us in civil wars rather than to hearken to any proposals from King James; or join with others to send proposals to him. The reduction of Ireland and the cessation of the Highlanders have not ended the jacobite quarrel, and though this defeat of the French by sea damps the wild and visionary jacobite, yet it will not put an end to our miseries: Were King James dead, the Prince of Wales would be thought on, and those that believe successive monarchy are very much (whatever you think) satisfied of his legitimacy; but were he, and the child of which the queen is lately delivered, and King James also dead, if the Princess of Orange should die, the Princess of Denmark must be a most resigned woman, if she did not ask for her right: Whatever others can, I can yet see nothing but confusion and calamity, intolerable and eternal taxes, together with the loss of trade and honour on the one hand, and on the other hand our ancient plenty, and our ancient government, without Sunderland being re-made secretary of state, or a general excise established, which are the resolved-on methods of King William: But I must yet give an account of the most dreadful hobgoblin of all, Popery. I believe as little of its creed, and as ill of its practices, as any body; but I would take a new method to civilize those wild men that you think beasts of prey. I would treat them better; I would enfranchise them. I blame neither papist nor fanatic for being in a plot, till they are impartially dealt with: And yet I can, and do, and ever did, and I am confident ever shall comply with the church of England; so that it is not personal concern makes me say this, but a firm persuasion which I have had these twelve years, that where a nation is divided into sects, church and state matters ought to be distinct. As we manage the point, the papists will be vassals for the court of Rome, and spies for every catholick monarchy from whence they may hope a deliverance, as well as flatterers of prerogative; but if you would blend them with all the other sects, they would not be tasted in the composition, nor would they be looking for succours from abroad. But when I have said all this, let the Roman catholicks at their peril endeavour to be invidiously preferred, or engross the king, we can put a bear-skin upon them when we please: And if a king of their persuasion will be the king of their party, the next revolution will extirpate papist, and the royal line to boot; and now we can cut off and abdicate kings in the face of the world: We shall learn massacres, and turn into a perfect commonwealth. I will allow you gentlemen to believe transubstantiation, but I advise you as a friend not to trust to miracles; but to allow that natural weight will be too hard for all your supine projections: So that though I am for your having utmost liberty, and though I am as much an enemy to civil inquisitions



here, as to your religious, or rather irreligious one in Spain, yet I would have you remember that I say you are to have that liberty only upon your good behaviour. If King James comes in, if you will not as industriously as any other party promote the general good : If you will not be as zealous for it as your predecessors, when they got Magna Charta, you will be a hated faction still, and find me too true a prophet at last. I think the French never were, but I believe every body will allow that they have now no reason to be so visionary as to expect to make us a colony ; and if any catholicks or mad Tories still expect force from abroad shall set King James upon the throne, they are madder than any set of men but those whigs that fear a French conquest, and from thence popery and slavery.

I have treated upon odd things, and in an unusual manner, and perhaps shall have tired the peruser, but to speak in a few words the drift of the whole—It is to invite all my countrymen to be ready to receive the king upon such large and comprehensive measures as ought to satisfy all parties ; it is to incline all parties to be reasonable in their demands, and to persuade King James to give such terms as the people will thank him for now, and will have, or eternally be resty and uneasy ; it is to persuade all Englishmen to consider church and civil matters apart ; it is to incorporate all our sects into one national interest ; it does allow government from God, but the specification from men ; it is not to quarrel with hereditary monarchy, but desires we may be safe in our lives and fortunes, and that we should sacrifice them for the public against enemies abroad, rather than by intestine jars : In a word, all this ramble is to persuade to a new Magna Charta ; to peace and justice, which God grant may be the conclusion of all our dismal appearances. I wish men would rather cast about in their thoughts how to draw such a Magna Charta than to make opposition, which can never determine the controversy, as long as any one branch of the right line is alive. I wish they would rather think who should represent them, than who should fight for them.

To conclude, I expect to please no one party, because I appear to be of none bigotly, but write for the general good. Though I think what I have set down are truths, yet I fear they are too strong to be digested, they do not close with the partialities of any sort of men ; however, they are well meant, and I leave the issue to the great Disposer of all things, and men to jumble and cut and be unfortunate, till they find by experience, according to the title of this discourse, that

Honesty, after all, is the best Policy.

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*The Speech of the Right Honourable Henry Powle, Esq. Speaker of the House of Commons, delivered to the King and Queen's Majesties, at the Banqueting-House in Whitehall, Friday, April 12, 1689. With his Majesty's Answer thereto.*

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This speech was delivered on occasion of the coronation of William and Mary, concerning which Ralph mentions the following particulars :—

“ It is remarkable that the Commons, who had given his majesty the crown, were not permitted to assist in putting it on ; the speaker on the fifth [April] giving the house to understand, ‘ That

his majesty had appointed a gallery for their reception in the abbey, and another in Westminster-hall, and a dinner to be provided for them in the court of exchequer, but that his majesty did not think it altogether convenient for the house to bear any part in the procession.' On the next day after the coronation, they had, however, a procession of their own; for the whole house in a full body walked from Westminster-hall to the Banqueting-house, to congratulate their majesties on that happy occasion, and were most graciously received; for as their orator overflowed with prayers and praises, his majesty did the same with promises and acknowledgements."—RALPH, II. 71.

YOUR most loyal and dutiful subjects, the commons of England assembled in this present parliament, having to their unspeakable joy seen your majesties placed upon the imperial throne of this kingdom, they have desired access at this time to your royal presence, humbly to congratulate your majesties upon this occasion, and to wish your majesties a long and prosperous reign, with all the blessings that ever did attend a crown.

We are all sensible that your majesties greatness is the security of your subjects. It is from your power that we derive to ourselves an assurance of being defended from our enemies, and from your justice that we expect a full enjoyment of our laws and liberties: But that which compleats our happiness is the experience we have of your majesties continual care to maintain the protestant religion; so that we can no longer apprehend any danger of being deprived of that inestimable blessing, either by secret practices or by open violence.

May the same Divine Providence which hath hitherto preserved your majesty<sup>1</sup> in the greatest dangers, and so often given you<sup>2</sup> victory over your enemies, still crown your undertakings with success.

And may those unparalleled virtues, which adorn your majesty's<sup>2</sup> royal person, be the admiration of the present age, and an example to the future.

And may the lustre of both your names so far outshine the glory of your predecessors, that the memory of their greatest actions may be forgotten, and your people no longer date the establishment of their laws and liberties from St Edward's days, but from the most auspicious reign of King William and Queen Mary.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

GENTLEMEN,

We return you our hearty thanks for the kindness and respects that you have upon all occasions shewed to both of us; we shall take care to the best of our power of all things that conduce to the good of the kingdom; and I do not doubt but by God's assistance and yours, we shall be able in a short time to make you a flourishing people.

<sup>1</sup> To the king.

<sup>2</sup> To the queen.



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*A MELIUS INQUIRENDUM into the Birth of the Prince of Wales : Or an Account of several new Depositions and Arguments pro and con, and the final Decision of that Affair by the Grand Inquest of Europe, being a Supplement to the Depositions published by Authority in October last.*

Printed in the Year 1689.

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A heavy piece of pleasantry concerning the alleged imposition practised upon the nation by the abdicated monarch, in the matter of the Prince of Wales. From various idiomatical expressions the Tract seems to have been translated from the French; and was probably composed by some Hugonot refugee, or Dutch person of wit and humour.

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*Consultation of the ORACLE, by the great Men of England, and the Potentates of the Earth, to know if the Prince of Wales (given of God, Deo datus,) be supposititious or legitimate.*

As soon as the darkness of the night was dispersed, and the morning had appeared, the gates of the temple of the Divinity opened themselves, and one might see all the potentates of the earth hastening thither : Great number of princes, and mighty monarchs, many Heraclitus's and Democritus's, the one sad and the other merry, for the birth of this new Messiah ; the catholic princes were in dispute with the protestants ; the latter did maintain that the Prince of Wales was supposititious, and the first the contrary. It was then resolved, by one part as well as the other, to refer the business to the Oracle, and that the divine Apollo should decide a question, whereon the happiness of Europe depended.

#### *The Pope*

Being the first advanced, kneeled to the earth, and having taken in each hand a certain composition, went on foot to the entrance of a little cavern. As soon as he found himself within, with a great deal of eagerness and haste, he spoke

#### *To the Oracle.*

" I desire to know four things before my death.

" The first is, to see Constantinople purged from execrable Mahometism, by my good son Leopold, Emperor of the East and West.

" The second, to see my eldest son, the King of France, to repent himself of all those affronts that he hath committed during his reign against the Holy See, against the other kings his brethren, and against his poor people.

" The third, to see my son Charles II. always poor, become sufficiently powerful to

revenge himself of his brother-in-law, and to give to the throne of Spain a successor, whether legitimate or supposititious, according to the example of King James.

“The fourth, to learn if my son King James II. be well fixed on his throne, and if the young Prince of Wales shall be legitimated by the parliament.”

As soon as the Holy Father had ended, all those powers that had followed him were impatient to speak of the Queen of England's lying-in, and of the birth of the young prince; and although the cardinal of Furstenberg desired it, and would by all means speak of his election, he was ordered to hold his tongue, and it was resolved, that the court of England should first be allowed to give reasons whereby she pretends to prove, that the Prince of Wales is legitimate; that the protestant princes, who had arguments to prove the contrary, should be heard next: That the question should be disputed with mildness and moderation; and that the court of France, as well as the court of England, as allies, should be desired to occasion no dispute, but leave it fairly to the decision of justice.

*The King of England,*

Attended by Father Petres, who followed him step by step, approached the holy cavern, and thus spoke to the

*Divinity.*

“I give God thanks for giving me a son on the 10th day of June, 1688, and that he gave a happy delivery to the queen my wife, by the birth of the Prince of Wales.”

His majesty had scarce made an end of pronouncing these words, but a protestant prince interrupted him, saying,

“We all give thanks to God, because we have discovered that this young prince is the son of the Society of Jesuits, and that he never had any royal blood in him.”

These words were no sooner delivered, but Father Petres advanced, and having fixed his triangular cap upon his head, to shew his indignation, thus said to the

*Oracle.*

“The hereticks do nothing but laugh at the queen's lying-in, as if the Prince of Wales were only a supposititious infant; for my part, who was not a moment absent from the queen, I know better than any person, and if I do not tell truth, I will call Mrs Wilks' as a witness.”

It was scarce observeable that Petres had spoke so much; the priests of the Temple being employed in furnishing the soul of Wilks with proper ideas, to make her recollect. To the end that she might discover the intrigue, she made her stage upon the skin of sacrifices rubbed with certain drugs which disturb the brain, and being present at the holy cavern, spoke thus:

“It is easy to prove that the queen was really with child, if one considers that she kept her bed at her lying-in for two or three days without getting up, and the rather for she never went abroad while she was big.”

*The Oracle*

Ordered, That she should hold her peace, if she had no better proof.

The Priestess of the Temple conducted the Queen of England, as yet weak and indisposed, and having given her her hand to lead her into the sanctuary, she thus said to the

*Divinity.*

“I prove that I have been with child of a young prince, because I had many pains,

\* Mrs Wilkes was the midwife who attended Mary of Este, at the delivery of the Chevalier de St George.



for five or six months, and I have always heard it reported, that women with child are always subject to them."

Mrs Cellier, who was near the queen, had a mind to speak again, desired her majesty to add the sickness she was speaking of; that she had several times been sensible of the infant's stirring in her womb, and that these two proofs were convincing.

*The Princess of Denmark,*

Being called in her turn, came near, and said to the

*Oracle,*

"I find it very difficult to believe that the young Prince of Wales is legitimate, if it be true what is said, that he was some hours at St James's, afore the queen came thither to lie-in."

*The Oracle*

Answered her:

"This proof is strong, have you any witnesses?"

*The Princess*

Answered him:

"Yes."

*The Rev. Father Smith, and Father Alix, Jesuits,*

Conspiring together in a design to destroy the proof which the princess had offered to produce,

*Father Smith,*

As being the eldest, spoke first to the

*Divinity.*

"I maintain that the queen hath been with child, and that the Prince of Wales is legitimate, by reason the queen hath resolved, at the present, to have a daughter, and after that another daughter, and then another young prince, that if it happens the first should die, his majesty may be provided of a successor."

*Father Alix*

Took his turn, and said,

"For my part, I prove that there is nothing supposititious in the person of the Prince of Wales, and that he is the legitimate son of the king, because he was informed that the child was baptized on the 15th day of July, 1688, it being St James's day."

The priests went out of the holy cavern, and returned before the queen's ladies of honour, and having made them drink a glass of the water of the river Hircinas, they said:

"We maintain that the queen hath been really with child, because she was always troubled with a kind of a gout, which hindered her going, and always obliged her to be carried in a chair."

*The Archbishop of Canterbury, attended by his Suffragans,*

Came near to the Divinity, extremely pleased to have been acquitted in his trial, and that innocence had prevailed over calumny.

*The Divinity*

Made him be informed by one of his priests, that he was exhorted to reveal what he knew, or what he had learned concerning the queen's lying-in; that there was no degree of power above the gods, and that he was obliged in conscience to tell the things as they were, and being approached, he spoke to the

*Oracle.*

"Because you conjure me, by all that is most holy in your temple, to discover an imposture, which the society of jesuits takes care to conceal from all Europe, I shall tell you then in two words, that the Prince of Wales is too supposititious, and that they put us in the Tower at the very time the queen was in the straw, to the end that the bishops of the kingdom might not be present."

*The King of England*

Hearing this discourse, came forward hastily, and being angry with the archbishop, called him rebel, adding, That he knew how to make him obey.

*The Oracle*

Answered the king: "That he had forgotten that the place where he blasphemed was holy, and that he ought to be satisfied long since, that the gods esteem bad kings no more than silly shepherds; that he ought to abate his fierceness, and thank the gods for giving them more good things in this world oftentimes than they deserve."

*The King,*

Being desirous to answer what the archbishop had objected, said, "It was true that the bishops were put in the Tower before the queen lay in, but also, that order was given to release them, and there was nothing to hinder their visits; besides, I am not willing to argue thus with my subjects; I am a king, and expect to be obeyed, without disputing, and when I say that the Prince of Wales is my legitimate son, this ought to suffice, and they ought to believe it."

*The Oracle*

Answered to all this, "That he was not well satisfied with his majesty's behaviour, and that he ought to have more moderation, and to bring good proofs, because we came hither to know if the Prince of Wales was legitimate or supposititious, and not to dispute his royal prerogative."

The priestess had orders to advance some

*Members of the next Parliament,*

Who spoke thus to the

*Divinity.*

"His majesty hath solicited us, by his chief almoner, Father Petres, to legitimate his son the Prince of Wales, when we shall meet in parliament; and all the people cry in London, that it is a supposititious child, that his father is a poor citizen, and that his mother is a poor woman, which the jesuits have persuaded, by money, to keep this secret." The

*Oracle*

Orders the priestess to conduct in the

*Earl of Sunderland,*

To see what he had to answer to what was proposed. Sunderland having order to enter the Holy Cavern, desired, before that, to abjure his religion, and to assist at the holy office in the king's chapel, and to give a proof of a profound respect. After which he said,

"The Prince of Wales is so much the more legitimate, and the supposition of which they accuse her majesty, is the rather a calumny, by how much the big belly of the queen hath been accompanied with many wonders, viz. As the queen slept, an angel



appeared to her several times, and said to her, 'Have courage, you shall bring forth a son, and his name shall be called Wales.' The queen awaking, started, and saw that this angel was like to him that appeared long since to Mary the mother of God."

*The Oracle*

Asked him how he knew it to be an angel?

*Sunderland*

Answered, that Father Petres had told him so.

*The Lawyer P——n, one that pleaded for the Bishops,*

Hearing that the Earl of Sunderland would prove the Prince of Wales to be legitimate, by the greatest imposture that ever was, could not forbear speaking into the Holy Cavern, as loud as if he had pleaded in Westminster-Hall, and said openly, that it was a shame that such a man as he, whom his majesty had honoured with his charge of secretary of state, should have so mean and low thoughts and so unworthy of a man of honour; he ought to have known that this angel, of whom he was speaking of, was one of the queen's footmen, who had been instructed by the jesuits to play this part: and that the king, having surprised him, with his sword wounded him in his arm.

*The Oracle*

Ordered the priests to turn out Sunderland, and bring the

*Lord Chancellor,*

Who spoke to this purpose to the

*Divinity.*

"The greatest proof that I can offer, to justify that there is no supposition in the birth of this young prince, is the coming of so many ministers from all the courts of Europe to congratulate his majesty, and pay their homage to this young prince. As to the rest, his majesty was transacted at his council of conscience with Father Petres, and he forbids to enquire into what passeth there; so if there be any supposition, it is a secret that very few persons know at court. And the king hath ordered us to compel the people to believe the Prince of Wales to be legitimate. And this is enough, and we ought as much as in us lies to adore these great mysteries, and by no means pry into them."

As soon as my Lord Chancellor hath spoken, the lawyers

*L——s, F——n, S——r, T——y, F——h, S——s,*

Were ordered to answer what my lord chancellor had said; they all unanimously said, "That having gained the cause for the bishops, they would do their endeavour to get that for the people also, and to maintain, by an authentic discourse, which they would publish concerning a supposititious birth, that the Prince of Wales was supposed; but they prayed the divinity to grant them some time." The

*Oracle*

Answered them, That it was granted, and that in the mean time the priests should be examined of such as are to appear.

The priests had order to introduce the

*Jesuits of the College of the Savoy.*

The most ancient of them having taken off his triangular cap, said,

“That the greatest proof that they had (that the Prince of Wales was the lawful son of the king) was, that his majesty had promised on the day of his coronation, that he intended to give a successor to the crown, and that the king had now performed his royal word, in giving them this young prince, whom they should always acknowledge as legitimate, since they being Roman catholics, it was much for the advantage of their society.” The

*Oracle*

Answered, “That these reasons proved that the king had a successor; but the question now was, to know if this successor were of the blood-royal.”

The priestess had order to cause them to go out, and to introduce the

*Nonconformists, the Quakers, and Presbyterians.*

The quakers being come in, said, “They had presented many addresses to his majesty, for to thank him for the liberty of conscience he had granted them, but that they acknowledged now by experience that he would not keep his word, and that he would break his word as often as it tendeth to make him absolute; that they think the Prince of Wales is supposititious, and that they will give their proofs in writing.”

The nonconformists say, “That his majesty is full of designs, which he hath to advance the papists in all charges, and that his favours are chiefly reserved for the jesuits, and that at last he will repent for having assisted at the making so many innovations; and as to the Prince of Wales, it was easy to suppose it supposititious, because it was a month before the queen lay in.”

The presbyterians say in their turn, “That what hath passed at the birth of this young prince, where father Peters and Cellier, only assistants, is a convincing proof, that there was a manifest supposition, and that one only ought to examine the circumstances of this birth to make it appear.”

*The Oracle*

Ordered a priest to take in writing all these depositions, and omit nothing.

The priests had order to introduce the foreign princes and their ambassadors.

*The King of France,*

Before he entered the holy cavern, according to the example of the Emperor Heraclitus, made his army be purged of the dragoons for three days, who came from the hunting the new converts, and having opened the Holy Evangelist, said to the

*Divinity,*

“I maintain, at the peril of my life, that the young Prince of Wales is legitimate, and if I ought to transport my armies, by my bombs and my carcasses, I would reduce the world into ashes, and chastise the rebellious nations that oppose the design of King James my cousin.”

*The Oracle*

Answered him, “That no one ought to enter into this holy cavern, to make French rhodomantades, that the business in hand was to prove he was legitimate or supposititious.”

*Father La Chase,*

Hearing them speak of a supposititious child, came forward; the priests stopped him, pulling him by the arm, and told him, “That he knew very well there was no safety within the cavern for such as came not with good intentions,” so that being drawn near, he made many bows, kissed the statue of Trophonius, and said to the



*Oracle,*

"I hold the Prince of Wales is legitimate for two strong reasons :

"The first, because my master is his godfather.

"And secondly, because my master hath sent him his spirit to inspire him in the cradle with the love for our society, and with a hatred to heresy."

*The Oracle*

Answered, "That this would not signify any thing, and if he had no other reason, he might retire as soon as he could." The priests took his cap and threw it out of the cavern, and having pushed him out, gave their hands to the

*Dauphin,*

Who came from hunting the wolf, and having conducted him into the cavern, made him shut his eyes, and asked him the number and the name of the things he came to consult about, and after retired into a little grotto; and having taken the water of a spring that is hid there, the Divinity ordered him to speak, which he did thus :

"I do not intermeddle in other men's affairs, and it little concerns me whether the Prince of Wales be legitimate or not : I only complain, that my father doth all for himself, but nothing for me. The Archduke Joseph is made King of Hungary at twelve years of age, and I am but dauphin at twenty-five."

*The Oracle*

Answered, "That there was no business concerning the Archduke Joseph, the emperor's son, but of the Prince of Wales, son of King James, to know if he were legitimate or not."

The priests introduced

*Madam La Dauphine,*

Who appeared with much respect and veneration; having made many sacrifices to Apollo of Claros, she spoke thus to the

*Divinity.*

"Praised be God that he hath given me children, even more than I desired. I complain of the misfortune of some poor queens, who do whatever is possible to have some, and yet can have none, but are at length forced to supposit them, and to make them pass for their own; however it be, since I am in this holy place, for to say what I think, the greatest proofs I can offer are the great public rejoicings, and the *Te Deum Laudamus* sung in all churches of France."

*The Oracle,*

Seeing that madam the Dauphine spoke with a great freedom and naturalness, ordered the priestess to accompany her, and made her a present of some reliques.

The priestess re-entered immediately, followed by the young

*Queen of Portugal,*

Who, after having performed the usual ceremonies, spoke in this manner to the

*Divinity.*

"The Elector Palatine hath married me to Don Pedro, upon condition that I bring him legitimate children, and by consequence a lawful successor, and not an infant supposit : The truth is, he had a mind to such a fertile house as ours is, in comparison to the house of Modena, of which the world hath spoken variously : but since I am

here to speak my thoughts concerning the Prince of Wales, I will prove it to be a legitimate child, because it came into the world by the prayers made to our Lady of Loretto."

*The Queen of Spain,*

Hearing them speak of children, made haste to come in, and prayed the priestess to introduce her quickly, adding, that she had somewhat of consequence to say : Being entered, she began thus to the

*Oracle.*

"All the queens of Europe have children except me, notwithstanding I am young and handsome : Why cannot I have one as well as the Queen of England?"

*The Oracle*

Answered her, "That he did not concern himself with the getting of children, nor examined the causes of barrenness or fertility, but only to know if the child of the Queen of England was legitimate or not."

*The Queen of Spain*

Replied, "That she knew nothing, but that it was reported legitimate." The priestess conducted the

*Three Sisters of Father Peters.*

At the rise of the river, and after having made them drink of two sorts of water, viz. that of Lethe, which blots out of the soul all prophane thoughts, and that of Nine-mosine, which hath the virtue to make one remember whatever is seen in the Holy Cavern,

*The Oracle*

Asked them, and said to them, "That they ought to declare all that they knew concerning the Prince of Wales, how he came into the world, who was his father, and who his mother ; that there had been already taken the depositions of many princes and princesses ; but that the Oracle was not yet satisfied ; that there remained some obscurity in all that was said ; that in the mean time they should be shut up in a grote, until they did reveal this mystery."

After appeared,

*A Troop of Priests and Prophets, of Poets, of Interpreters, of Prelates and Sacrificers.*

The pretress came before them, and told them then, "That they were informed that the Epicureans were banished from that holy place, and those that were in the fields had order to pass no farther."

The temple of the Oracle being near to Parnassus, one might see the muses composing, by the sweet harmony of their instruments and voices, a choir, in which was sung the triumph of the Prince of Wales.

After this one might see the young prince carried into the temple by four-score je-suits (as yet afore Jupiter Hammon was by eighty priests) in a kind of gondolo of gold, from whence hung knobs of silver, followed by a great number of monks of all orders, singing with a loud voice holy hymns to his glory : As soon as the little prince was within the temple, all the priests and priestesses of Apollo encompassed him, and having examined and considered the features of his face, said aloud (contrary to the custom of our modern gossips,) "That he was not at all like his father." The

*Divinity*

Ordered, That such should be introduced as had not yet appeared. The pretress came before



*Mr Skelton, Ambassador of his Britannic Majesty to the King of France;*

And being brought to the entry of the Holy Cave, thus spoke:—

“ I prove the Prince of Wales to be legitimate, because the king his father had wrote to me to spare no charge in making fire-works and splendid feastings.”

*The Author of the Triumph of Liberty*

Being come up, answered to Mr Skelton, That if his excellency had no other proof to give, he ought to expect to see himself very speedily censured and condemned; and that having already proved in his book that King James II. had not been lawfully called to the crown of England, but that he had usurped it, since the laws of the land have excluded all Roman catholic-princes, he had resolved to prove to him presently that the Prince of Wales was never of royal blood: That this is a supposition, believing the society contrived it to deceive fools.

*The Oracle*

Ordered, That they should cause to come in

*The Author of Parliamentum Pacificum,*

To see what he had to answer thereto.

The pretress conducted him to the cavern, and made the author of the Triumph of Liberty retire some paces back, for fear lest a noise should arise between these two different spirits. The author of *Parliamentum Pacificum* said thus to the

*Divinity.*

“ I cannot forbear the admiring the Divine Wisdom for giving a child to his majesty in his old years, and at a time when we were near seeing a second Queen Elizabeth to reign; and the greatest proof that I have that this young infant is legitimate, is the ill opinion his majesty hath of all the heretics.” The

*Oracle*

Answered him, That he had not in the least satisfied the question which the author of the Triumph had proposed, viz. That his majesty had usurped the crown of England; he ought to prove the contrary afore he came to the supposition. The

*Earl of Avaux, Ambassador of France,*

Took his time, and the pretress having received some louis, which he presented her with, he was immediately introduced, and brought the affair into a few words. The

*Oracle*

Asked him then, How that he pretended to prove the Prince of Wales to be legitimate? His excellency said,

The greatest proof he had was a magnificent treat the Monsieur Albeville<sup>1</sup> gave in the Prince Maurice his palace, to all the ministers of foreign courts, where we were near three hundred persons that he invited.

After Mr D'Avaux,

*Mr St Disdier*

Advanced, and as he knew the history to the bottom, and is knowing in all things, he said to the

*Divinity,*

That it was not difficult to prove that the Queen of England had really been with

<sup>1</sup> The ambassador of James at the Hague

child, if one considers that the queen-mother lay in with Louis the XIVth after she had been barren twenty-two years, which is the reason they call the king *Given of God*; and at this day the Prince of Wales hath the same name, because he certainly came into the world by the gift of Heaven.

*Mr Moreau, Envoy Extraordinary from Poland,*

Entered without ceremony, and dispatched his business with a laughing air. The relish of a glass of certain delicate wine he drank at the palace of Prince Maurice made him not want matter or words in speaking to the

*Divinity.*

"For my part I shall prove the Prince of Wales is not supposititious, because Mr Albeville rose from the table several times to fill us out to drink of a most excellent wine, as he did it with so graceful a mien that I have reason to say he hath not forgot his first employment [a butler or footman.]"

*Mr Albeville's Steward*

Slipped into the cavern without taking notice of the pretress, and spoke thus to the

*Divinity.*

"I am about to abjure my religion, to oblige my master the ambassador."

*The Pretress*

Bid him hold his tongue, for here was nothing to do about religion, but only to know how the Prince of Wales was born.

*The Steward*

Answered, "That he had resolved to tell all that he knew, but that he was only concerned in performing the commission he had from the ambassador the day of the fire-works, which was to search out some English, (or other unknown persons,) to borrow for them white perriwigs, a genteel dress, fine linen, cravats, and cuffs of French point; and to procure them footmen to follow, as if they had been my lords, or other of considerable quality, that I had orders to seat them at the table to make a figure, and fill seven or eight places, because that some of the states had no mind to come."

*The Pretress*

(Perceiving that this discourse displeased Monsieur Albeville, who was present, who was concerned to do things honourably on such occasions; besides that what the steward said did more make known what was done on the day of rejoicing for the young prince, than to prove that he was of the blood-royal) made him retire.

As soon as the steward had done, the pretress introduced Monsieur d'Albeville.

*The Divinity*

Told him, "That all the world was surprised to see what passed at this day, and that it was a thing that all people spoke of, that one would make a supposititious child for a legitimate."

*Monsieur Albeville*

Cried out in the discourse, calling Heaven and earth to witness, saying, "That it was a pure scandal that he had caused from the day that he had notice of the birth of the young prince to make fire-works, which had surprised the seven provinces with their beauty and magnificence, where was to be seen the young prince upon a globe, in the



midst of a triumphal arch, where these words were written, which contain the year of his birth:—

*aVgVsta eX IaCobo Magno proLes DIV VIVat.*  
M.DC.LXXXVIII.

Which is,  
That the son of Great James live long.

Upon this triumphal arch you might see St George, who represented the king, trampling under his feet the dragon of rebellion, and abolishing the test and penal laws: There one might see the good conscience of the jesuits, represented by the woman that was near the dragon, firm and unmoved, notwithstanding the rigours of the penal laws. There was to be seen two guardian angels near the person of the prince, to deliver him from the ambuscades of the quakers, conformists, and nonconformists, from the presbyterians, the Arminian bishops, the Calvinists, Lutherans, anabaptists, and other sects. There the dragon was to be seen, devoured by its own proper flames, while the crown and all other figures were entire, which was a prognostic that his majesty should bring about his great designs: After this, ought the heretic to maintain that the young prince is not legitimate, and that all this hath been done for a supposititious child?

*The Secretary of Monsieur D'Albeville*

Came forwards with all speed, and softly put his excellency in mind to add something of a number of incomparable flying squibs, fire-pots, rackets, wheels, &c. which filled the air full of stars and serpents, which proved that the prince was legitimate, because they produced the effect that was designed.

*The Oracle*

Ordered the jesuits to enter, together with the priests that framed these fire-works. He that composed the inscription came first, saying,

*Non si commencia bene se non dal cielo.*

I have myself composed,

*Veritas et justitia fulcimentum throni patris, et erunt mei:*

As virtue and justice are the support of my father's throne, so also shall they be of mine. I have moreover composed this fine device,

*Religio et libertas amplexatae sunt:*

Liberty and religion are united. Adding, That this was convincing, and that he had not composed this for an infant supposititious.

*The Almoner of the Ambassador of France*

Came in his turn, and said, That he himself had composed a short prayer, which begun *Ad Deum optimum maximum pro rege, principe, et Gente Britannico precatio brevis:* To the great God, for the king, prince, and British nation, a short prayer. After this, one ought not to question that the Prince of Wales was not legitimate.

*A Jesuit of the Spanish Ambassador,*

Pressed hard, and being come in, said, "That he had distributed a general alms that morning, and given to the poor several shillings, and a pint of wine to every one to drink the health of the young prince, that all this might serve to prove and disabuse the vulgar incredulity.

*All the Domestics of Monsieur Albeville*

Came in their turn, and said, That they had laboured more than fifteen days to put things in order, and prepare a most sumptuous feast; adding, that there could not remain any doubt of the young prince's legitimacy, since the ambassador had been at so great expence.

All the musicians came also, and said, That they had sung that day a very fine *Te Deum*, with excellent music, and an incomparable symphony, composed by Monsieur Hacquart, and that this alone was fully convincing.

The players on the violins came also, and said, That they were carried in a boat during the time of the feast, and that they had played the Follies of Spain, the Descent of Mars, and many other fine pieces proper to the occasion, for to divert the ambassadors who were in the palace of Prince Maurice; and that all this could not be done for a supposited child.

Those that had discharged the cañon which came from England on purpose for this day, came and said, it was not reasonable to suppose so much noise made for nothing.

Those that had pierced several tuns of wine came also and said, That the street was overflowed by six fountains of excellent wine, part claret, and part white wine of France and Spain; and one ought not to believe that this was made for an illegitimate child.

*An unknown Poet*

Desired the pretress to permit him to enter into the Holy Cavern, to repeat some verses which he had composed for the glory of the young prince, on the day of his triumph: He being come in, said

*Some Protestant Lords*

Sliding in the crowd, desired the Divinity to give them audience; one of them said, "That this young prince had let fall his sceptre while he was upon the globe, and that this was an ill presage. Another said, That they had given the Hydra but six heads, because it was said they would not represent by it the seven provinces. Another said, That St George was devoured by the monster instead of the monster being devoured by St George, and that all this proves manifestly that the child was supposited."

*The Oracle*

Ordered the pretress to introduce

*Monsieur the Prince, Madam la Princess d'O——, and Messieurs Le Estats.*

To see what they had to answer to so many witnesses, who had maintained the king's side.

The pretress went out of the Holy Cavern, and was humbly desired that she would dispense with them for a great many reasons, which was granted them.

The pretress had order to call

*Dr Burnet,*

Who being entered, said to the

*Divinity,*

Who desired her, That she would dispense with him from speaking of the affairs of England, for fear of saying too much: The

*Divinity*

Ordered him to tell his thoughts of the queen's lying-in, and of the birth of the Prince of Wales.



*Dr Burnet*

Answered, "That supposing the Prince of Wales was legitimate, and that the queen was truly his mother, as they would maintain, it is to be presumed, that it was extremely the interest of the king, at a time when his people did with difficulty obey him, to contrive that the queen's lying-in should be made according to the forms, by calling thither all the peers of the realm, as was always practised in the court of England; because it is known, that the people are naturally very difficult to persuade, they scarce believing the things they see."

*Author of the Book, whose Title is, The Mischiefs that threaten the Protestants of England,*

Seeing that every one endeavoured to speak, desired the pretress to permit him to recite a history of Puffendorf, which proves, marvellous well, that it is easy to suppose a young prince, since we have in histories many examples of it. The

*Oracle*

Ordered him to recite the said history.

Puffendorf, a celebrated historian, speaking of the kings of Spain, saith, "After John II. his son Henry the IVth, the disgrace and infamy of that crown, succeeded to the kingdom of Castile; for since he was esteemed impotent, to remove that conceit from the people, he made one Berrand Curva lie with the queen, and for a recompence of that service he made him Earl of Desina. This adultery produced a daughter, named Jane, which Henry proclaimed successor to the crown. This action is the more likely to be true, because this queen had some time after a bastard by another: But in fine, to discover this cheat, and to exclude Jane from succeeding, they united together, and carried things so high, that they exposed upon a theatre the figure of Henry dressed in all his royal ornaments; and after having made a process against him, and brought an accusation against him, they stripped him of all his cloaths, and threw him from top to bottom. After, they proclaimed Alphonsus king, brother of Henry. But this farce caused terrible shocks, and furious agitations in the kingdom, which came to bloody battles. At last Alphonsus died during these troubles, in the year 1468."

*The Divinity*

Ordered the three sisters of Father Peters to be brought out of the grote they were shut in.

The pretress conducted them into the Holy Cavern, being veiled.

*The Oracle*

Told, "That it was no longer time to dissemble; that wanting nothing but their depositions, they ought seriously to reflect, and to speak to him the plain truth, that all the world did with impatience expect the revealing this mystery."

She that staid in London said, "That she had seen one Peters, her brother, go often into three different houses where there lived big-bellied women, viz. a baker's house, a sword-cutler's, and a miller's; that she had followed him, step by step, several times, and she had observed that he stopped oftenest at the miller's, and that she had observed that this woman had been brought to bed without any body knowing what became of the child."

*Apollo,*

Seeing that the question had been long enough debated, made all the powers be informed that he was about to pronounce the divine oracle.

After the Divine Cavern was shut of a sudden, and the pretress had ordered that

they ought to wash themselves in the river Hercinas ; after which, to make a sacrifice to Trophonius and all the family to Apollo, to Jupiter, to Saturn, to Ceres, Europa, nurse to Trophonius, and not to eat during three days of the sacrificing, but of the flesh sacrificed ; and then appeared the last time, the

*Divinity*

Accompanied with her pretress, and there was heard throughout the cavern many voices, saying, " The child supposited, the monk reigning."

*The Commissioners of the High Court of Justice*

Established by the parliament to try Charles Stuart, came in a body from the other world, causing a sword of justice and the mace to be carried before them.

*The President Bradshaw*

Being placed in a chair of crimson velvet, thus spoke to the

*Divinity.*

" We have made an unjust process against C. Stuart. When shall we form a just one against James II. his son?"

*The Oracle.*

" When the patience of the good English shall be weary of suffering a false prince of Wales to be put upon them."

*Cromwell, one of the Members of the High Court,*

Advanced for a moment out of the crowd, and said, " Jesu my God ! what is it they say of James II. ? all the world cries out, and complains against him."

*Oracle*

Answers him, " That King James II. is a good jesuit, and pretends to die a martyr of that society."

*Duke of Monmouth.*

Before he presented himself to the Divinity, the pretress made him kiss the statue of Apollo of Claros, and made him at the same time drink a glass of water, called Lethe, to make him forget his shameful death, and said,

" I made too much haste to death, and I have lost by it. O would to God I were now living ! What a fair occasion should I have to secure the liberties of the English nation."

*The Oracle.*

" It is long since you have been predestinated by the society to go reign in another world."

*The Q. Dowager to the Oracle.*

" Since the death of the king my husband, I have had no satisfaction at court, where nothing rules but jesuitism ; and as the society is full of fury and rage when it attacks heresy, I have resolved to go into Portugal to avoid the storm that is rising : They have so moved the people, that one is obliged to suffer the supposititiousness of the Prince of Wales."

*The Oracle.*

" The lightnings have flashed, and the thunder grumbled : If you love peace and repose, stay not until the bolts fall."

*The Emperor.*

The same pretresses that yet afore conducted Alexander and Vespasian into the



sanctuary of Hammon came to introduce the Emperor Leopold, and having made him a present of a crown of laurels, conducted him into the Holy Cavern, and said to the

*Divinity,*

"I have already filled the universe with the news of my victories, extended the frontiers of my empire even to Belgrade; planted Christianity in all the mosques of Mahomet; delivered the electors of my empire from the Ottoman fury; snatched off the crescent, and planted the standard of the Roman eagle on all the towers of Hungary; made Rome to triumph, and the cross of Jesus Christ in the midst of the terrors of war; my generals being tired with so many labours, solicit me to make peace. What ought I to do?"

*The Oracle.*

"Leopold, Leopold, if thou wilt believe me, hearken no more to Loyola, make peace with the Crescent (Turks,) and war against the Sun (France.)"

*Archduke Joseph, King of Hungary,*

Having heard of the surrender of that important place of Alba Regalis, came on, and said to the

*Divinity,*

"The emperor my father hath gained on one side, and lost on the other. France hath promised not to break the truce, and notwithstanding he every day advanceth on the Rhine, on the other side, the jesuits promise him the universal monarchy, if he continues the war. I beg you to discover the mystery."

*The Oracle.*

"The Jesuits are traitors to the empire, banish them the court." The

*Empress,*

After she had ended her short devotions at St Stephen's, where *Te Deum* was sung for the prosperity of the imperial arms, she came and said to the

*Oracle,*

"The House of Austria hath triumphed over its greatest enemies, and if the emperor my husband would believe me, we should spill no more Ottoman blood."

*The Oracle.*

"When the emperor shall have shed as much French as he hath of the Ottoman blood, he shall secure his conquests, and have no more to fear."

*The Grand Seignior, Emperor of the Turks,*

Seeing afar off the prophetic temple, he approached the Holy Cavern; the entrance of which was covered with leaves of laurel, which bespoke the success of the Christian arms, and making several sighs, said to the

*Divinity,*

"*La illa alha Mahomet rasoul alha.*"

"The great God, and our great prophet Mahomet, my brother Sultan is dethroned, to raise me upon his throne, and in despite of the rage of my janizaries, and of his party, I have extinguished the fire that burned in the heart of my empire: Being unskilful in the art of war, I propose a peace to the Christian emperor, and I yield him all his conquests, adding thereto even Belgrade, fearing that my bashaw should betray me; and that the uncircumcised army do not advance to Constantinople, I have ordered my

treasury to be carried into Asia, day and night my priests go to the holy temple of Sophia, where the Alcoran is kept, and I send my dervises to Mecca and Medina to pray our great prophet to have pity on the true mussulmen, and to desire the state of Venice to make peace." The ORACLE

*Notredame Cent. 3. Quat. 11.*

*The King of S——n, Charles the Second,*

Afore he descended into the Divine Cavern, he was ordered to spend a certain number of days in a little chapel, which is named Good Fortune, or Good Genius; after which being introduced, he said to the

*Oracle,*

"All other princes reap laurels in the art of war, and extend the frontiers of their kingdoms; they become the terror of their subjects, and do a thousand exploits to eternalize their names: For my part I am always the same, and instead of becoming great, I diminish, I sow in ungrateful and barren earth, which produceth nothing but brambles. The queen my wife gives me no heir, notwithstanding the pains I take to get her with child. Oh! how happy is King J. the Second, my cousin, to have a son. Oh! that the queen my wife had been heard by the Lady of Loretto. I desire you to tell me what can make my wife to have children?"

*Oracle.*

"You must have at hand a good father, such as Father Peters."

*King of P——d,*

Having received orders from the pretress to make a confession of all the secrets of his life, approached, and said to the

*Divinity,*

"I repent to have made so much noise of my victories gotten over the infidels, and to have called the emperor and the princes of the empire ungrateful. I repent me of having amused the Czar of Muscovy, my allies, in promising them a great many things I have not performed; I repent myself also for having had more concern for love of France than for Poland; I repent myself for having suffered the emperor to take Hungary, since I might have partaken with him of the plunder of the common enemy; I repent my not taking Caminieck the last campaign, when its doors were opened to me, if France had not whispered in my ear, Stay, stay. I only ask the crown of Poland for my son."

*The Oracle.*

"The King of France is a fox, and if you follow his counsels you will live in the hatred of your people, and your son shall never be king."

*The Grand Vizier,*

After having saluted the oracle of Trophonius, and drank a glass of the water of Hercinas, descended into the Holy Cavern, and said,

*"La illa alha Mahomet rasoul alha."*

"The new sultan, my master, would honour me with the charge of grand vizier, I beseech you inform me what shall be my fate."

*The Oracle.*

"Take care of yourself, for the neck of a grand vizier draws to it the bow-string as naturally as amber doth a straw."



*The King of D——k to the Oracle.*

"I am the spy of the northern crowns, and when any thing remarkable happens amongst my neighbours, I inform the King of France of it, and the King of England; they promise me, so long as we continue friends, we shall keep the balance equal between the emperor and the other princes of Europe. I answer that I am content so far, but I doubt France will always play the same play."

*The Oracle.*

"The King of France is often guilty of deceits, take care of yourself."

*The Elector of S——y,*

Making his prayers, passed by Holland, and after having saluted the Prince of Orange, entered into the temple, and said to the

*Divinity,*

"I love the French wine, but not the French; but I like better the Rhenish wine; and I am of opinion that I ought to drink no other, although the King of France cries day and night in my ears, my Lewisses and my good Champaign wine. I beseech you tell me what side I shall take."

*The Oracle.*

"The emperor's side, and that of Holland."

After all ceremonies were ended, and the lot was going to be cast with much respect and veneration,

*The Cardinal of Furstenberg*

Being entered into the Holy Cavern in haste, overturned the lots and urns. The pretress being disturbed, ordered him to speak, and he said to the

*Oracle,*

"Was there ever a pope seen so wilful and stubborn as ours now is? To have a red cap I have endeavoured above five years without interruption, and do so at this day to become elector, and what way have I not tried? And I am not nearer it now than I was the first year; if the king my patron would have believed me, he should have abandoned the affair of the franchises at the beginning, without making so much noise about it, since the advantage of being master of the Rhine, and by that to intercept the communication of the empire with Flanders, and so in few years promise himself the conquest of Holland; it had been better to have made an exchange of a bull, with his right of the franchises, which is only —, without endeavouring to vex the holy father in his old age."

*The Oracle.*

"For to have a bull, and to make the holy father agree with his eldest son, it is necessary that Marshal d'Estree quit the barbarous Algiers, to come and bombard the holy see at Rome."

*Dr Molinos, the Cardinal Petrucci, the Cardinal Cicero Don Livio Duc de Ciceri, Nephew of the Pope, and other Quietists.*

Dr Molinos, stepping forwards, said to the

*Oracle,*

"Praised be God, the holy father hath made us accounted heretics, and he is one

himself, if it is true that he is a quietist, as it is reported; the inquisition having examined him, were about shutting him up in the Minerva, if the Cardinal d'Estree (who betrayed me as Judas did our Saviour,) had not prevailed with him that he ought to dissemble, which saved him. I beseech you to inform me how long this intrigue shall last."

*The Oracle.*

"In our age the power of the holy see is a tyranny, which sacrifices all to its interests."

*Madame of Montespan.*

After much ceremony she whispered the god in the ear, and asked him what she would; at last she stopped her ears with her hands, and went out, coming in again, and said to the

*Oracle,*

"I have endured a great many difficulties since my affairs went backwards at court, the good man loves me no more, and the old hag Maintenon hath done me the good office; she hath so buzzed the ears of the king with the merit of Monsieur Scarron, that it hath made him have a mind to turn poet. For my part, not knowing to what saint to pay my vows, after having lost the great Lewis, I am resolved to imitate La Valliere."

*The Oracle.*

"To learn to string Paternosters is a poor life for Montespan."

*Madam of Maintenon*

Took the way of the temple, accompanied by Father la Chaise, who entertained her with the new converts of France, and the hopes he had to see England in the same state, by the care the society took to provide a successor to the crown; Maintenon being come near, said to the

*Divinity,*

"That Father la Chaise had informed her that his penitent, by many repeated confessions, had owned that he always had a passion for the fair sex; that neither age, nor the severities of penance could ever reclaim him; we have a mind to marry together, to the end that we may lead a good life, and that there be no more discourse in the royal family of a divorce. I beseech you tell me, if I, being sixty years old, may yet be able to bring forth a brother to the dauphin; his majesty saith he will keep only to me."

*The Oracle.*

"The fathers of Loyola have excellent secrets; you being a daughter of the society, I would have Father Peters inform you how the Prince of Wales came into the world."

*The Mareschal of Estres, Vice-Admiral of France to the Oracle.*

"I have two great designs to execute; the first obligeth me to destroy Algiers, and totally to burn that barbarous people out of their nests, and on the ashes of this rebellious place I ought to erect a statue to his majesty, like to that which the Duke of Tuillade hath put up in the place of victory, to the end that the name of Great Lewis may become the terror of all Africa, as it is of all Europe, and that the report of his great victories may be conveyed by the waters of the Mediterranean to the ocean, and by the ocean to the four extremities of the world. And in the second place I have orders to go as soon as I can to the coast of England to make that rebellious nation tremble at the will of King James, and to oblige the House of Lords and Commons to revoke the test and penal laws."



*The Oracle.*

"These barbarians are turbulent, and resolved to fight well, and the English expect only a contrary wind to prove to King J. and to Peters his almoner, that the Prince of W. is supposited."

*The Swisses to the Oracle.*

"The King of France, our uncle, is at length tired with engaging us to the Germans in wars; and we have managed the affair so well that he hath left poor Geneva in peace. He is contented to see if we are afraid, but seeing the Swisses have always a good stomach, and drink well, his counsel of conscience have not judged it proper to bleed them, so that he is retired from us without bidding us farewell. We beseech you to inform us if he will ever return again."

*The Oracle.*

"The king your uncle often makes such braggings."

*Geneva to the Oracle.*

"The King of France hath at last granted us a truce for some months, because his affairs press him a little too hard on the Rhine; his pretensions on the Palatinate, his franchises at Rome, the stubbornness of the Holy Father, the election of Furstenberg, have so employed him during the spring, that he hath desired us, by his resident, to excuse him if he defers the business to a fitter opportunity; besides that the new converts cut him out so much work, that he knows not which way to turn him. In the mean time Father la Chaise makes him believe that before he dies he shall enter with his coach and horses into the greatest church of Geneva, adding, that he ought to keep fair, and expect until his brother King J. hath equipped his fleet."

*The Oracle.*

"Watch and pray, for you know not the hour when the thief will come."

*The Algerines to the Oracle.*

"The King of France is a terrible champion; after having purged the heretics out of his kingdom, he imagines to purge the sea of pirates, and to make the coasts of Barbary a desert. This is a great design, and worthy of a great monarch; but the Algerines have already passed so many times through the fire of their bombs and carcasses, that they are become half-devils, that hell-fire cannot burn them. If our houses were built so as his Versailles is, it had been long since reduced to ashes, and the palace of Mezemorto had been nothing but a tomb; but they are built of a certain cement which the fire cannot hurt; and the three thousand bombs which the Marshal of Estres discharged against us have done no more harm than bullets shot into the air. Barbarian against barbarian; he that is the most barbarous shall conquer. All the French that are in our power shall be put in the mouth of a cannon; we have shot them the consul already, expecting to send them their king, if ever he fall into our hands."

*The Oracle.*

"You ought to keep him prisoner."

*All the Electors of the Empire.*

"We are encompassed with the claws of the eagle and the paws of the fox. The great Leopold on one side engrosses villages, provinces, and kingdoms: the great Lewis on the other side ravages amongst us, sometimes as a lion, and sometimes as a fox, making his bombs thunder amongst us; making a thousand fair promises; to one, to oblige him

to sell his best places to them for their liberty; to others, for to truck, exchange, or engage their sovereignty. The great Leopold seeing all these contrivances, adviseth us, under hand, to have a care of such delusive promises. The great Lewis, on his side, whispers us by his spies, "Take care of yourselves, Leopold becomes too powerful for you; you will shortly become slaves of the house of Austria." We beseech thee tell us which is our true interest."

*The Oracle.*

"Your true interest is to join with the emperor and the empire, and to be of opinion always, that the fox will do his endeavour to catch the eagle and her eagless."

*The Archbishop of Paris to the Oracle.*

"I have hitherto done all the good and all the ill I could unto the Hugonots, in order to get a cardinal's cap, and I have only a mitre. The Bishop of Camus, that is reputed a heretic, and is really so in his heart as well as the Cardinal of Furstenberg, who is a very libertine given up to his pleasures, hath got a cap with ease; and I who daily sing vespers, and assist at the holy offices with the piety and zeal of a greatest prelate, is it possible that I should have nothing to cover my ears in my old age?"

*The Oracle.*

"It is true indeed you are a great mimic, but the Holy Father doth not reward grimaces."

*All the Canons of the Chapter of Cologne*

Came in a body, and, after having drank a glass of the water of the river Hircinas, and made a sacrifice to the god Trophonius, they entered into the Holy Cavern, and said to the

*Oracle.*

"The Cardinal of Furstenberg is not worthy to bear the electoral bonnet, since the Holy Father is not willing he should; if we had the power neither should the Prince of Bavaria, for we have received nothing from him. As to Furstenberg we very much fear."

*The Oracle.*

"For fear lest they strangle you, for the sure charge is great, *Qualitas bona, quantitas mala, aiunt medici*, The physicians say the quality is good, but the quantity is ill."

*All the Monks of France*

Were carried by the pretress into the chapel of good Genius, and being first laid on the earth, they entered the Holy Cavern: After which the

*Divinity*

Ordered them to sing some *exaudions* in music with a loud voice.

*Omnes sancti in cælis, exaudions, et orate pro nobis*, (All the holy in Heaven hear us, and pray for us,) when the choir began to repeat the *Ora pro nobis*, the pretress ordered the most ancient and

*Venerablest*

To speak, and they said to the

*Oracle,*

"At this time we are the most powerful part of the government under the protection of a great king. We live in peace, ease, fatted with the blood of the people; we fear neither war nor peace, and heaping up riches we become so powerful, that we give laws to the princes of the earth, and it is by us that kings reign; we have secret ways to insinuate ourselves, and every one of us endeavours to play his part; we make rich and poor when we please; we affect to be counted men of estates, and to be wicked when



we have a mind, and under the cheating mask of virtue and vice we seduce the people ; hypocrisy is the highest degree of perfection, and the wisest, most pious, and honestest amongst us is a great hypocrite ; we have not made virtue consist in a severe exercise of good thoughts, as the ancient philosophers did, who, not having the true way of enjoying this world, have lived in the middle, between good and evil, without coming to extremes : In short, we have so well sung for six or seven months that the Queen of England hath at length had a son."

*The Divinity.*

"Supposited."

*Count Teckely*

Came out of his den, imitating the savage beasts, who suffer themselves to be seen when the hunters and dogs are retired out of the field.

*The Pretress,*

Surprised to see him yet alive, made many acclamations of joy, crying *Helas, Helas*, and immediately presented him with a glass of the water of the river Hereinas for ———, and made him sit a moment to rest himself ; after which he was conducted into the Holy Cave, and spake thus to the

*Divinity.*

"You see here the most wretched and unfortunate prince that ever was, notwithstanding I am still living by the powerful arm of the great God, who hath always preserved me from the hatred of the emperor my capital enemy ; against the King of France, who hath betrayed me ; against the cursed race of the jesuits, who have tried a thousand ways to sacrifice me to their rage ; against the Grand Seignior, who cares for me no more than I am serviceable to him ; and in fine, against a thousand and a thousand enemies who are contriving my death. You see me a fugitive, and robbed of a crown, which the Archduke Joseph wears for the love of me ; yet, notwithstanding, I have not lost my courage, and such as you see me, I give a great deal of trouble to my enemies."

*The Oracle.*

"As long as thou livest thou shalt be between the two rocks, always in danger — the fathers of Loyola have surrounded thee like so many hungry wolves seeking to devour thee."

*Monsieur le Cardinal de Camus*

Being conducted to the Holy Cavern, one of the pretresses gave him her hand to help him to go down, lest he should fall : Being come near, he made a narration of his history in an eloquent manner, and said to the

*Oracle,*

"You see here a fisherman, like other men. Pardon, I beseech you, the term which seems to be contrary to the custom, since I have all reason imaginable to praise myself, if I have any regard to that great and august dignity the purple hath raised me to. God be praised, I take a glory to be humble, as much as my proper nature will permit me. You have been informed, without doubt, that it is my zeal, and that I endeavour to acquit myself of the duty to which the charge of pastor engageth me, by the pains I take to gather together the poor sheep strayed about the holy mother-church. You know that I blame extremely the ways of rigour and tyranny which is exercised, and that on the consciences of persons whose greatest guilt is, that they pray to God in the purity of their heart : That I have preached, and still do so ; that this harsh way is wholly opposite to the Christian religion ; that I endeavour to prove it by

all the fathers of the church, who never had any other way than by sweetness and humanity : In short, I have said it, allowed in the chair, and shall eternally say it of the reverend fathers of the society who vomit out every day their gall and rage against me. I leave them to their opinions, and I have acted at present with so much boldness, that the Holy Father begins to approve of my conduct, and his majesty on the other side orders that I be taken for a model and example ; in short, you may see what I do, and what I have done hitherto ; but one thing goes extremely to my heart, and, if I did dare to tell you, it is that I am of the opinion of those poor people whom they persecute so much. As to what remains to be said, it is delicate ; and I beseech you, that it may be permitted that I may be suspected such, but that the truth be never known."

*Oracle.*

" Jansenist, take care of yourself."

*The Duke of Bavaria.*

The pretress having conducted him into the cavern, made him drink a glass of water of the river Hercinas, and bid him shut his eyes and speak to the

*Divinity.*

" Since my marriage with the daughter of the empire, I have always got victories and gathered laurels, and the Ottoman war hath been my apprenticeship. I have abandoned the interest of France, in quitting a considerable pension which she gave me, because it blotted my glory ; I have married my sister to the Dauphin of France, he hath cost me nothing, and what I have lost on one side I have gained on the other. I have failed in being governor of the Spanish Low Countries, by a grant which the King of Spain would have made me ; but it gave a jealousy to France, and this affair is put off to another time. I have refused the alliance of a bastard that was offered me, because it did not consist with my honour ; besides, it would have made me a slave to a crown that doth nothing but for interest. At this time they court me more than ever ; the emperor, my father-in-law, promiseth me that there shall be no more jealousy between me and Lorraine, and that I shall have the sole command of all his arms. The King of France promiseth me that I shall share with him in Spain, in Flanders, in Milan, in Peru, and Mexico, and in all the goods of his brother-in-law after his death ; what side ought I to take?"

*The Oracle.*

" The empire's side, in preferring thy own glory to that of the emperor, and all the electors, to the castles in Spain, and to the deceitful promises of France."

*The Pretress,*

Seeing coming the

*Partizans of France,*

Came before them by the chapel of Good Fortune before they entered into the Holy Cavern.

*The Pretress*

Ordered the most antient to sit in the chair of Mnemosine, and to make a long discourse ; having shut his eyes and opened his mouth, he spoke thus to the

*Divinity.*

" We are a race cursed by God, bloody to the poor people, disturbers of the public quiet, and preservers of the royal authority ; without us the kings would be sovereigns without power, of power without arms, of riches without silver ; we grow fat in the



midst of plenty and poverty, and we have the secret to find money where there is none. In short, great Divinity, St Louis, yet afore, was only a poor saint of wood, and we have made him at this day a saint of gold, and when you shall see the ambassadors of the King of Siam, and of the King of China, wise men come from the east, and powerful kings send their ambassadors from another world, let not this surprize you: You ought to know that all the powers of the earth are obliged to give him marks of their submission, (because this serves for his glory.) In the mean time he seems to have forgot from whence he came, that he hath forgot his good friends; he is become so fierce of late years in relation to us, that we dare no more look upon him. And above all, since the reverend fathers of the society have put him in the head to chase away the Hugonots, without considering that this doth us wrong; farther, he hath taken care to purge us from time to time with good taxes, for fear, lest we growing too rich, we should be able to make war with him; but the revenue begins to diminish, and lessens every day more and more, by the great number of refugees who have quitted and daily do quit the kingdom; who being the fat and strength of the nation, and rich, and the best paymasters that we had, what shall we do now for money?"

*The Oracle.*

"Establish real to ruin the nobility."

*The Reverend Father Tachart, Jesuit, and Ambassador of the King of Siam to the Court of France,*

Was no sooner arrived at the sanctuary of Hammon, but all the pretresses of the Divinity went out to see his dress; there was one who would have him dance; the reverend father having lifted up his triangular bonnet, saluted him with a kiss, praying him to excuse him, and to introduce him into the Holy Cavern; the twelve mandarius that accompanied them were ordered to stay in the chapel of Good Genius; the reverend Father Tachart being come near, said to the

*Oracle,*

"I am the ambassador of a great king, and I come from the other world to make an alliance between Mahomet and the Christians. The society have chosen me an apostle, who ought to plant the gospel in the kingdom of Siam. I have persuaded the King of Siam to send his son to the court of France, for to learn the art there of converting heretics, to the end that we may suddenly go to hunt the new converts through all the Indies; I have already introduced into the chief commands of the kingdom the principal members of our society, and the King of Siam himself is a zealous catholic, who hath been a zealous idolater."

*The Oracle.*

"It much concerns the society for the execution of their great designs, to transport to the Indies a naval army of French dragoons."

*Monsieur Le Marquis de Louvois, and Monsieur de Vauban, Engineer-General of France,*

Having a mind to visit the frontier places, to see if all be in a good condition on this side of the Rhine, in case the emperor and his allies should openly oppose the election of the Cardinal of Furstenberg;

*The Pretress,*

Seeing them appear,

*Monsieur the Marquis of Louvois*

Came on first, and was conducted without loss of time into the chapel of Good Genius, where he saluted the Apollo of Claros in passing, and from thence he came into the Holy Cavern, and spoke thus to the

*Oracle.*

“His majesty is for war, and I for peace; he is resolved to make his troops enter Cologne, and make Furstenberg elector, in despite of the pope and the empire, and for my part I am of a contrary opinion; I represent to him the pitiful condition that France is in at this time, its coffers are empty, its trade ruined, the new converts ready to put off the mask at the first signal. I represent to him all the electors of the empire, and Holland expecting war with impatience, prudence is my counsel, and as long as we fish in troubled waters I shall be always for peace, fearing to lose in one campaign what we have gained in six.”

*The Oracle.*

“So long as the Ottoman war shall last, the deceitful promises shall do more than powerful enemies.”

*Monsieur de Vauban,*

Who was busy in considering the avenue to the Holy Cave, and had already drawn on his tablets all that he saw curious in the chapel of Good Genius, he was ordered by the pretress to meddle no more with his tablets, but to speak his business, and to retire as fast as he could; having shut his eyes and opened his mouth, he spoke to the

*Oracle.*

“We have no rest day nor night, and we are in a perpetual motion, as the water of a river that runs without ceasing; and we run from province to province, from place to place, and from frontier to frontier; they may call us fools. The glory of our great monarch, to which we sacrifice all our pains and travels, is at present a great idol we adore, which will erect to us eternal monuments which all ages will admire; all the monks of France, chiefly the jesuits, say that the king is immortal, and that the empire, as well as all the other potentates of Europe, will be obliged to submit to his yoke, and to rank themselves under his obedience; we beseech thee inform us what will be the destiny of the great Lewis.”

*The Oracle.*

“The great Lewis hath enemies without number; who expect only the reverse of the medal, That he always endeavours for peace in making a shew of declaring war, and this is his great policy.”

*The Count de Raunts, Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty to the Chapter of Cologne,*

Having received order from the emperor and electors of the empire, to go immediately to the Holy Cavern, came forwards, and said to the

*Oracle,*

“France hath endeavoured for many years, by his money and menaces, to make the Cardinal of Furstenberg Elector of Cologne; the emperor hath ordered me to represent to the most illustrious and most reverend chapter of Cologne, that the said cardinal, although a German by birth, is gained to be a slave to the crown of France: That he hath oftentimes betrayed the empire and its members: That he brought the war within the diocese, and made it a bloody theatre; That he dismembered Strasburg



from the empire, and delivered the citadel of Liege to a powerful stranger: That at this day he quarters the French in the strong places of the diocese: That he fortifies Bonn with the Louis of gold which the king his protector lends him, in hopes of being reimbursed by him in resigning Cologne to him."

*The Oracle.*

"The empire is a machine difficult to manage, and France will conquer it all, so long as misunderstanding reigns amongst them."

*All the Monks and all the Priests of the Spanish Low Countries to the Oracle.*

"Since the Queen of England was brought to bed, we are ordered by the Holy Father, and all the clergy of Spain, to sing *Ora pro nobis*, and to pray our Lady of Loretto, that the Queen of Spain may be with child also. If the Princess of Orange, and her sister the Princess of Denmark, were not heretics, we could at the same time pray for them, and they should have no cause to complain, if it happen that they remain barren, while all the other princes of Europe have reason to rejoice at their fruitfulness."

*The Oracle.*

"In barrenness, father of marvellous effect, as well as the assistance of some good father."

*The most Serene Republic of Venice*

Came forward, attended by all the senators; Morosini spoke, in quality of the doge, and said to the

*Divinity,*

"We have purged one part of Greece, the Adriatic Gulph, the Morea, and some of the islands of the Archipelago, of infamous Mahometism, and we are about placing the standard of Christians in all the churches of Constantinople. The ports of the Holy Sophia are open to us, the impostor Mahomet shall shortly have no sanctuary, but the fearful desarts of Arabia; the emperor, our ally, solicits us to make peace; all Italy represents to us that France makes advantage of our conquests. If we suffer him to pass the Alps, and if he advance on the Rhine, what ought we to do?"

*The Oracle.*

"All Europe enjoys peace in the East, and wish the war were in the West. But since you have gone so far, take Candia to assure the conquests."

*The King of Siam to the Oracle.*

"I have sent the reverend father Tachart, of the society of Jesus, in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, there to treat of the means to convert my people from idolatry, and to break commerce with the Hollanders. Part of the pagods of my kingdoms are already consecrated to Christianity, and have purged them of Marmasets, and of false Gods, with which they were filled. The reverend father Tachart hath counselled him to put in their places the statues of St Lewis and St Ignatius. On the other part, I have set out a fleet, and I have built fortresses on the frontiers of my countries, and the King of France hath sent me engineers, and he desires me to send my son to him, that he may be taught the art of reigning. The jesuits persuade me to be willing that the dragoons come as missionaries, from France, to convert my people. I beg of you to inform me what I shall do."

*The Oracle.*

"A good dragoon is a good apostle, but hath no faith, law, or baptism."

*The King of Persia to the Oracle.*

“We are at the end of the world, if it be true that the evangelist of Jesus Christ is preached through all the habitable earth. There is no other discourse, but of making new converts, as if the Son of God was come. The King of Siam, my brother, hath chosen rather to embrace the cross than the Alcoran, and a great many open the ports of the East to the fathers of Loyola, who advance in troops, and assemble in the Indies like wild loupes. If the prophets accomplish their prophecies, and my brother the sultan is driven out of Europe, Constantinople, and all the holy places of our prophet Mahomet’s repose, will be purged of Mahometism, and I only shall be left in Asia; I beseech you what must I do to continue the circumcised, that they may spread over the world like an universal fire. And will not they reduce to cinders the mosques of the great God, if we do not take hold of this opportunity?”

*The Oracle.*

“The surest remedy that can be, is to make a great rampart wall from Ispahan to the frontiers of Persia, which may make a tower of a kingdom; to hinder the fathers of Loyola from entering.”

*The Canada, or New-France, to the Oracle.*

“There is no finer countries in the world for the chasing the new converts than this is, if the fathers of Loyola will believe us; one passeth whole America, and principally into Canada, where are several great and vast champaigns, mountains, and forests, where the land flows with milk and honey, where the taste and delicateness is to be preferred to the best chicken in France. If the great Lewis was well counselled, he would let them sing no more in his kingdom, for fear that France, in the end, should become a frightful desart, where none but the Society of Jesuits inhabit.”

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*A Remonstrance and Protestation of all the good Protestants of this Kingdom, against deposing their lawful Sovereign King James the Second. 1689.*

With Reflections thereupon.

——— *Ubi non est pudor,  
Nec cura juris, sanctitas, pietas, fides,  
Instabile regnum est.*——— Sen. Thyest.

Better is a poor and a wise child, than an old and foolish king, who will no more be admonished.—*Eccles.* iv. 13.

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It could hardly be expected that so great a change of government as that effected by the Revolution, should pass without some opposition; and accordingly an author was found hardy enough to publish the Remonstrance and Protestation in favour of King James, which is republished and confuted in the following Tract.

The time of publication was not ill chosen, for the date of King William’s popularity did not ex-



ceed the revolution which he achieved.—“The truth is, that the new king already found his throne shake under him. By losing the bishops, he had lost the whole herd of their followers and admirers who had once so warmly espoused his pretensions, and who on the contrary appeared now as warm for a new revolution. His very friends, who had hitherto laboured with as much earnestness to place him on the throne as if the salvation of the world depended on it, now embarrassed him as much with their broils as they had before obliged him with their services. His enemies were every where hard at work to make a diversion in England and Scotland, while King James made use of his French auxiliaries for the service of France in labouring to extirpate the protestant interest in Ireland. Even his cabinet partook of the ferment of the times; and those who enjoyed the highest places in it, either confessed they were uneasy in them, or thought it necessary to take precautions for their security in case of a change. There are many passages in Sir John Reresby, which serve to exemplify the general disposition of things as well as his own particular discontent. Speaking of Lord Danby, he says he found him extremely cooled with regard to affairs, as now managed. And this observation he founds on the expressions which dropt from his mouth to the following effect: “That being embarked with all, he was sorry to see things no better conducted: That Ireland was in a manner become invincible by our neglect of sending forces thither before now: That with regard to this and other material points equally unheeded, he had been pressing with the king to a degree even of incivility: That he had told his majesty he plainly saw he did all he could to encourage the presbyterians and to dishearten the church, which could not but be absolutely prejudicial both to himself and the government; though he at the same time observed, his majesty interfered but little in councils, being prevented therefrom partly by inclination, and partly by want of health: That he was doubtful of the continuance of affairs as they now stood; that if King James would but quit his papists he might still retrieve all; that the discontents of the people grew daily greater and greater, and that King William, Lord Halifax, and all the rest of the new court, were most strangely infatuated with a persuasion of their own security.”—*Ralph*, II. 63.

Reader,

AMONG gamesters, if the winner may by an ancient proverb be justified to laugh, I see no reason why a loser may not have the liberty of grinning. 'Tis the present case. The whole body of the nation is set free indeed from tyranny and popery; and cleared from the fear of it for the future, and are therefore with great reason transported with joy at this deliverance; but this not having been feasible without defeating the vile designs of some few wretched fellows, who were to make their fortunes by the slavery of their country; these men set up for reason, right, and honesty, who were the betrayers of all; and under several silly and thin pretences, would advance notions utterly inconsistent with the truest rules of reason, the examples of scripture, the laws of the land, and the common good. Among these few our author seems to be one. The wit, the honesty, the modesty, the love of his country, which appear in this paper, would make one think him one of those wise, honest, valiant, free-born English spirits which composed a late court. And this I am yet the more inclined to believe, because (though I know it was sent in penny-post-letters to several reverend divines of the church of England,) I am certainly informed it came from that forge, where for years by past all the most scurrilous invectives against the reformed religion were hammered, even the late Nat. Thompson's printing-house; and probably was written by that scribbler of his who penned *The Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*; and this ought to be one reason why all good protestants and honest Englishmen should have a care of this and the like pamphlets which would banter us out of our happiness. But let him be who he will, his honesty and modesty he manifests in the title, which he gives this libel, “*A Remonstrance in the Name of all good Protestants.*” Who empowered him to make this? Who chose him the representative of all good protestants? Is the convention or parliament shrunk into his skin? If it be, he ill-favourably betrays his trust, and talks contrary to the interest and meaning of his principals. But since

it is nothing so, and he only with a necessary confidence arrogates to himself the office of a prolocutor, we'll hear him, and be free with him.

“ Since it is evident to the whole world that the present state of this kingdom is a state of force, and that, after all the pretence of property, there is no law in England but the long sword; and that upon that foundation, our present architects are raising the fabric of their new government: We who profess ourselves to be true protestants, and tenderer of the honour of our religion than of our lives, do think ourselves obliged, in conscience, to vindicate our reputation to mankind, by declaring our dissatisfaction to the present proceedings, and making a public protestation against the authors of them.”

*Refl.* His title, one would think, had been an affront great enough for once upon all good protestants and every friend of truth; but this paragraph gives the lie to our senses. He tells us “ ’tis evident to the whole world, that the present state of the kingdom is a state of force.” What can he mean? In the “whole world” I suppose he includes England; and all England know, that there never was a parliament chosen more fairly, or whose privileges and freedoms of debating and resolving were more punctually preserved to them. On the contrary, we are delivered from that which was indeed a state of force and slavery. Whither was true English liberty agoing, when in the late reign, at Northampton, the soldiers, at the choice of parliament men, were drawn up at the place of election, and commanded to load with ball, in order at least to terrify, if not to compel, the freeholders to give their votes contrary to the common interest of their country. This was a state of force with a vengeance. The latter part of this paragraph begs a question which has been sufficiently teized, but never clearly made out, by some of our *jure-divino* men; and till they can prove their principles, it concerns not us to regard their fulsome and slavish conclusions. We cannot believe our excellent religion has any thing in it of such servile tendency, as to incline us to part with our civil liberties and rightful properties. We do not believe that Christianity should unman us, or that protestancy can make us slaves and beggars. But go on.

“ It is true, the fears and jealousies we have had of the coming in of popery, by the influence some great men of that religion had upon his majesty, improved by the daily reflections that were made, and the ill turn that was given to every act of state, by some malignant spirits among ourselves, made us, we confess, very cold and indifferent in his majesty’s defence, against the prince of the blood of our own religion, whose errand (as we are told) was to preserve our religion and laws, and the just succession of the royal line. This only could have made us endure an action we should else have hated, presuming our king’s loss should have been his gain, and our yielding, our victory: But since we behold, to our unspeakable grief, that our condescension is treacherously abused to private ends, and that shew of our disloyalty not made a remedy to the government, but a ruin to our king, and an infamy to ourselves, to serve the turn of some men’s avarice and ambition: We”——

*Refl.* Good man! Fears and jealousies! The fellows of Magdalen College were only under a jealousy of being turned out? The bishops were only afraid of being sent to the Tower? Needed there any malignant spirits to tell the world that the country was ruined by an army kept up against law, and exempt from the power of the ordinary magistrate, and a thousand other plain violations made of the laws of the land? Was it not rather a miracle of patience that so generous a nation could lie quietly so long under such heavy pressures? But thus far is only prologue; and now enter Alanzor *solus*, for he uses the words *We* and *Us* only as he is a great man.



"We think it fit to protest against such injustice, and to declare, We neither know, nor will acknowledge any other king than James the Second, who is our lawful sovereign while he lives; and this resolution we will maintain upon all occasions, as becomes loyal subjects and good protestants to do. Nor ought this to appear a blind or unreasonable sacrifice on our parts, since we can find neither truth nor justice in the reason given for laying his majesty aside: For the king's desertion, so much spoken of, was a plain necessity, and not a crime: Had those foreigners that conquered, but by leave, suffered him to stay a king at home, he had never gone abroad; but if it were a crime, it was against himself, and not against the kingdom: His sins against the nation we have daily expected to hear of; those black practices that brought the Prince of Orange hither to save us, and do his princess right: It is plain his desertion, which is now made the fault to dethrone him, could be none of them, for that was not foreseen by the prince, or those that called him in; and we challenge those that have impeached him to prove to us, as clearly as they made us believe they could, that the birth of the Prince of Wales is an imposture; that the king has made a league with France to cut off the protestants of these kingdoms; and that his brother and the Earl of Essex were murdered by his appointment. Had these vile things been proved upon him, we had done with him for ever, and till then, common honesty would fly in our faces if we should desert him; and though his enemies have been able to deceive us, we hope they shall not be able to destroy us. If our good nature hath suffered us to be easily abused, our integrity will oblige us as quickly and thoroughly to resent it: And therefore, since we cannot have their proofs, we must and will have our king again for all this."

*Ref.* Now 'tis out. This was it he had to say; the rest is only facing and trimming, which being introduced by flat untruths, may well render it suspected; but now we have it; 'tis liable to exception in so many places, that no good protestant, or considering man, can agree to it. First, he says, King James is his lawful sovereign while he lives, without any exception, as either a resignation by a public instrument, or his sequestering himself from the world and making himself a recluse, or his proving a lunatic, or becoming (God bless us!) a fool, which if we allow not for good exceptions, he is more alone in his opinion than I thought; besides the case of abdication, desertion, and dereliction. Then he takes pains to clear his late majesty of any crime against the kingdom, in deserting the realm, which no man ever charged upon him, but most people thought it very well done by him. Next he expects to hear several things proved against him, which, from highly probable suspicions, had become the subject of public discourse, or of which positive proof was never promised, because in such cases 'twere unreasonable to require them. And yet he grants, "if these vile things were proved, he had done with him for ever." I offered before two cases in which a lawful sovereign may cease to be so while he lives; and our author here grants me another, *i. e.* if he be guilty of the crimes himself enumerates. Now see what a hopeful argumentator our few malcontents have got; for allowing, as he does, that these crimes are enough to extinguish our allegiance, then if crimes equal to these (and such no doubt may be perpetrated) could be made out, these also may be sufficient to the like end. For this concession let him excuse himself to his employers. The conclusion of this paragraph is insignificant bounce, but it has this in't, that it fits the character of its author.

"We know the excuse that is made for this profound silence, that they forbear to prove this black charge, out of pure tenderness to the king; but we are not to learn at this time of the day, the great tenderness of my Lord Shro. Mord. Lov.\* Mr Harb.

\* The Lords Shrewsbury, Mordaunt, and Lovelace; Admiral Herbert, Burnet, and the plotter Ferguson.

Burn. and Ferg. towards his majesty, no more than the gratitude of my Lord Mulgrave, Chur. Bark.\* and the Bishop of Durh. or the mercy of Kirk, or the valour of Leneham, or the morals of all of them. But if those gentlemen and their partners are too tender to prove their charge, why did they make it? And if they cannot do it, why do they proceed and refuse to open his letters sent for an accommodation? They have accused his majesty of imposture; they must prove it, or make themselves the worst of impostors, which is an ill bottom for a reformation to stand upon. It is impossible for men of common sense to imagine, that three kingdoms can be taken away from any man out of tenderness to him, especially if the reason of it be, that they shew no cause why they do it. It is a mystery to us, how they can be so very tender of his credit, and at the same time, and in the same occasion, so mighty careless of their own. This has so ill a face with us, that the whole seems the plot of a few men, to serve themselves of the king's popery, and the Prince of Orange's protestancy, to bring the honours and profits of the government into their own hands, which is not preserving our property, but making a property of us."

*Refl.* All the black charge that was promised to be made out by our royal sovereign, upon his arrival in England, will be made good in due time; let him have patience. But if he expects that every violent suspicion that was, though upon very good grounds, entertained by many wise and good men, should be cleared and demonstrated by the present government, he mistakes, and talks unreasonably. The rest is *gratis dictum*: For, to pass by his foolish reflections on particular persons, who must needs despise so silly an author, how comes he to know that his late majesty ever sent any letters for an accommodation, which he says, were not so much as opened? That letter which was sent to the lords of the privy council from France, went to another tune. "No change of fortune shall ever make us forget ourselves so far as to condescend to any thing unbecoming that high and royal station in which God Almighty by right of succession has placed us:" And not a word throughout the whole of restoring the nation to the enjoyment of its laws, or redress of grievances, any farther than was done when our present king landed; which promises, though there said to have been made freely of their own accord, yet no man in his senses can believe that, and therefore cannot trust them.

"It is this that compels us to say, and declare to the whole world, we look upon ourselves to be cheated, and our king to be belied and betrayed out of all his kingdoms. Nor can the prince be blameless, if he yields to what they would give him for their own sakes, since that were only to do his and their business, and not the kingdom's. It is not enough to say, it is put upon him, for none can believe a few naked conventioners could force him at the head of his army to take three crowns from his father, brother, sister, and wife, against his own will and declaration: And that he should do it out of pure self-denial is as incomprehensible as that he could do it justly, after what he has said to the States and to us to the contrary. If therefore he came for less than three crowns, less than three crowns should satisfy him; if nothing less will content him, our preservation was not the real motive of his coming, and then the hazards he run upon that score cannot be justly placed to account of merit. The king of France himself (for pught we know) would have turned protestant for the bargain, which had been at least as great a miracle as any we have yet seen in this affair. And though what we have said were sufficient to deter all good protestants from taking any part in the work now in hand, yet we cannot forbear expressing our zeal against those

\* Lords Mulgrave, Churchill, and Berkley.



evil practices, by letting our countrymen know the great mischiefs that must inevitably follow upon such a revolution, viz. reproach, violence, taxes, blood, and poverty."

*Ref.* Here our author would insinuate, that King William's design (when Prince of Orange) when he complied with the invitation of the best part of the nation, was the acquiring the regal authority. But why so? His intention might be, and in all probability was, only the rescuing of the nation, and settling things upon the ancient and legal basis: but this done, the parliament saw, that though he might be content with less, the deliverance he had wrought could not be secured without more; and therefore desired him, with his wife, to accept the crown, which his father had abdicated or deserted (let our author chuse which for this time) which his sister could then have no title to, nor ever claimed; and for the thing he calls his brother, all good protestants know it not. I cannot believe the French king would (as he says) have turned protestant for the bargain; because if that were his opinion, he would, no doubt, have communicated it to one at Whitehall, who was sufficiently guided by him. And now finding his forehead to be of the kettle-metal and colour, and so far at least fit for the business, he sets up for a gypsy, and will tell his country's fortune; that is, That upon this revolution we are to expect five things, reproach, violence, taxes, blood, and poverty; though the second and fourth of these be but one in this consideration, as well as the third and fifth; yet they shall all be examined as he has laid 'em down.

"*First*, We shall become the reproach and scorn of all nations: it cannot be otherwise when subjects attempt to judge and deprive their sovereign, which is a great contradiction, as well as danger in government: but to do it without being so much as once heard or summoned, is an injury not to be acted towards the meanest of his subjects: King Charles I. had fairer quarter from Cromwell and Bradshaw: they did not only charge him, but offered matter in evidence to maintain the charge: but this king must be guilty of what his accusers refuse to prove, if yet able to do it, and be dethroned for deserting the kingdom, though he could not help it. Nor do these gentlemen stop here; they will change the crown as well as the king; they will not be contented to lay him by, but chuse who shall follow, and by that make the crown elective, which for above 600 years has been successive;—a thing they lie under no necessity to do, but is the pure effect of their adventurous and flattering humour. Can this do less than render us odious to the whole world, when the king they lay aside never attempted so great an alteration in any branch of the constitution?"

*Ref.* As for the reproach, I cannot apprehend any the nation will lie under, so long as sense and reason obtain in the world. Such actions as these, of resisting tyranny, and setting free the oppressed, always had, as they ever deserved, the applause of men and the blessings of Heaven. The noble example here set, 'tis to be hoped, will raise the emulation of the neighbouring nations to assert their natural and legal freedoms; if it don't, we value not their envy, which is all it can procure us. In the next words he condemns what in the protestation (§ 3.) he allowed, that if the late king could be proved guilty of such and such crimes, he had done with him for ever; whereas now he's of another mind, and would have it to be a contradiction in government to attempt to judge concerning him, without which no man can be pronounced guilty. For what follows, 'tis certain both in reason and our law, that a withdrawing implies guilt, though I apply it not to the present case. He pretends then to say, that the crown of England has been successive for 600 years last past; if by this he means that the succession has been preserved with an exact regard to any line, (for the word *successive* is a word at large, and of diverse significations,) I say, if so he mean, he has fooled himself into a capacity of succeeding Oliver's porter; and yet if he don't mean so he means

nothing, and that's worse. It has been made out beyond all possibility of contradiction; and if historical faith can ever be well grounded, it must certainly be true that the chimerical lineal succession has been slighted at least ten times since William the Conqueror, and that the late new deference that has been given to it, has not been of above eighty years standing, and a mere novelty in our state. The work of designing courtiers, ambitious lawyers, and (who are worst of all in this matter) time-serving men of that venerable order where truth and the common good ought most to be befriended. In answer to his last assertion, 'tis plain, to pack a House of Commons, contrary to the minds and interests of the nation, is as great and as mischievous an alteration as can be made in any branch of the constitution.

"2dly, We are inevitably in a state of force, for what is gotten by force must by force be maintained; and let us flatter ourselves what we will, it is not a vote of parliament, but the nature of the thing that will prevail. They that make the change, must and will use force for their own security, whatever becomes of ours."

*Refl.* We cannot lie under a greater and more troublesome force than we did a year since, when hardly a night passed wherein some outrage or other was not committed by the late king's lawless soldiers, who exercised all manner of insolences with impunity, by being privileged (forsooth) from the usual methods of prosecution according to law. In appealing from a parliament to the nature of the thing, I think he loses himself again; and instead of personating all good protestants, he represents nobody.

"3dly, The charge of the Revolution will be intolerable in a while: we shall lay down a computation of one year's expence for an instance:—

|   | £.        |
|---|-----------|
| To 70 sail of great and small ships of war in the channel, and 12 fire-ships and tenders, for one year, . . . . . | 1,400,000 |
| To 8 sail in the Straits, and 5 in America, for the same time, . . . . .  | 130,000   |
| To transporting and maintaining 15,000 men to be employed in Ireland for one year, with artillery, &c. . . . .    | 500,000   |
| The charge of sending and keeping an army in the Low Countries of 15,000 men for a year, . . . . .                | 500,000   |
| For an army of 15,000 men in England, yearly, . . . . .   | 300,000   |
| The total,  | 2,830,000 |

"To this must be added the expence of civil government at home, embassies, intelligence, secret services abroad, domestick or family expences, charges upon the revenue for debts owing, or by pensions to persons aged, necessitous, or meritorious, which will mount it to above three millions, and that is more than one-third of the yearly value of the whole kingdom. To this must be added the abatement that will necessarily follow both in the customs and excise, by reason of war and decay of trade, which in the customs alone cannot be less than one-third, and that comes to at least 400,000*l.* a year.

"Here is poverty like an armed man: all rents must fall at least one half: no employments can be had in proportion to the poor: the means of charity, as well as hearts to give it, will be wanting; the objects of it must extremely encrease, and that so very suddenly, that it will not be in our power to hinder it if we have not that peace, which nothing else can give us but the restoration of our right master."

*Refl.* All beside the purpose. The nation is willing to give thus much and more (and



well is it worth) for their rights, laws, and properties again. Fear not, slave; the heads which managed this glorious achievement want no purses, nor hearts, nor hands, to make good what they have done.

"4thly, And for blood, can we hope to escape it in war? First, by sea it is not to be avoided; by land we will invade the territories or conquests of France, if he in our king's quarrel does not invade us first. Secondly, there is blood with a vengeance, though we are not beaten; but if we are beaten, there is blood with rebellion upon us, which will not end without blood in peace, and almost an infinite forfeiture of estates. Thirdly, we are not assured we shall be long quiet within ourselves, many strong factions already appearing; and we are less assured that Scotland will not be in arms, and find something to do in this conjuncture, that has a king to lose, and to chuse as well as we. For Ireland, we are assured, or ought to be, they who possess the government, will lose it at as dear a rate as they can; their all is at stake, and they are not without hopes, by the French-king's assistance, to recover all for their own, and will value themselves to him and the world by revenging our despisings and insolence both to him and them. Nor can we think they will endure this indignity to the first king of their religion since the Reformation; or suffer those to be ill used here that have faithfully served their king, without meting the same measure to some disloyal persons there. Otherwise as little wit as we allow the Irish to have, they have enough to know that a massacre, which we so much talk of, would be their own ruin; and that if they carry it fair to the English, they will in a while gain those there to join them, and more than there too, for the restoration of their and our lawful king. But be it as it will, whether we regard ourselves, Scotland, Ireland, or Holland, war and blood look us in the face, and poverty and misery must follow. These are like to be the sad consequences of this celebrated change."

*Ref.* This is the scare-crow paragraph: Raw-head and bloody-bones! He tells us here will be work for the sword: with all our hearts. The old English liberties cost our ancestors many a tun of blood at first, and since they could not be had cheaper, they were worth it. Does this crawling slave then think to fright us out of our own by threatening us with a brush or two? No, let him tell his stories to some dainty monsieur, or some blockhead-league, and not accost his own countrymen with such an affront. But, God be thanked, even this has nothing in't; the nation is comforted to see itself under the protection (under Heaven) of the bravest king that ever adorned the throne, and is fully satisfied that nothing can perpetuate its happiness but a close conjunction in the common defence. So that this buff is no more to us than to a passenger is a dog under a door, who stares and barks terribly; but the honest man may go on without fear. I mind not what he says when he acts the Sir Pol., a few months will better confute him.

"Now whether our dangers were so great, or our fears so just, as to require all this alteration for our security, days of affliction can only inform us if we will still be deaf to those just and peaceable expedients that have been often proposed to us. We shall close our Remonstrance with this caution to the present busy men, that they cannot honestly lay their king aside without entering into the merits of the cause, which it is plain they wave; and in as much as they cannot justly say, he has laid himself aside by deserting them, when his desertion is coercive and against his will, let them repent of what they have done, and let us all join for the prevention of civil, as well as foreign bloody wars, to fetch him home to the kingdoms of his fathers, with greater glory than he came first to them, and it shall not lessen it that it be done with greater security to our just freedom."

*Ref.* Now are we come to the recapitulation, where, as it was proper enough, he repeats his former shams. He gives the horriblest oppressions and injustices the name of Dangers, and the most illegal sufferings he calls Fears. He tells us of just and peaceable expedients that have been often proposed, but yet of which no man ever heard a word, at least while any credit was due to them. Then he advises us to enter into the merits of the king's cause, of which he once before said it was a contradiction for us to make a judgment. And at last, to conclude this politic piece of sense and argument, he gives us *dignum patellâ operculum*, the whole question begged; "they cannot justly say he has laid himself aside by deserting them, when his desertion is coercive [nonsense] and against his will." Let him answer these two axioms I'll lay down: No nation can stand without government, of which the late king left us destitute. Fear alone is no force upon any man; and more than fear (and that of far distant and only imaginary danger) he was never yet pretended to lie under.

Thus have I prefutorily and with a running eye reflected upon this applauded piece. Many passages, upon a review, I see I have slipped either through haste or contempt, which yet, if the author think it worth his while to defend his pamphlet, may have a regard: but, if he hath time upon his hands, I would advise him rather to employ his pen in giving our late court, and the managements thereof, the character they deserve; as, first, let him declare the wonderful gratitude they shewed to their heartiest friends, the church of England, the members whereof were the main instruments of the Restoration, the only opposers of the Exclusion, and the single confounders of the Monmouth-adventure. Then let him launch into a vast field of eloquence on the subject of the even justice which was kept up within the last marvellous four years, under the justest, the meekest, the most modest, and the most virtuous chancellor that ever kept a purse; and a bench of judges, of whom at least three or four more never had their like upon the bench since King William the First; and here let him tell how Westminster-Hall was crowded every term with suitors for justice from these men of learning and integrity, and what a blessing they bestowed upon the nation, when they prostituted its laws to a dispensing power. The happiness also they enjoyed by an unnecessary illegal standing army, may deserve from him an encomium, which he may well conclude with a panegyric upon the felicity of being yoked and spur-galled, or else a copy of verses in praise of a pair of wooden-shoes.

### Conclusion.

And now, honest brother Englishman and fellow protestant, our countrymen having always accounted it half a victory to find out their enemies, I'll give a little description of the most dangerous foes to the common good and happiness of the nation. On one side are,

Such as intoxicate the people's heads with a chimera of *jure divino* monarchy, and bubble 'em with a false opinion of a certain lineal succession, which was never nor ever can be made out.

The same would scare you by telling of the sacredness of your oaths of allegiance and supremacy; when the character which was the object of their obligation has virtually, and as much as in him lies, been thrown up by the person who bore it.

Some of these are men of a character to be revered; but they are afraid of some avridgment of power, wealth, and ease, if the general good be nicely attended to in the present reformation. There have been such scrupulous consciences as these in the world before, when a gnat came in their way.

On the other side are wicked men who are equally to be detested and avoided.



Such as, perhaps having been sufferers mostly in a private capacity, make use of their authority and interest at this time to foment parties, and to animate the dissenters against the church of England.

Such as these are, those who being set by their country in any high character, make it their business to rip up old sores, and instead of helping on the healing designs of our true patriots, confound the public consultations with pursuits after private piques and unnecessary resentments.

These mix perplexities and delays in our most needful counsels, and tell a tale of a house of office at Billingsgate, while a nation may be lost.

Of these and of those, my good countryman, have a care. They are enemies to thy peace.

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*A Letter to a Friend upon the Dissolution of the late Parliament, and the Calling of a new one; together with a List of those that were against making the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen.*

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In a little more than a year after his accession, King William became so disgusted with the obstinacy of the whigs and the parsimony of the commons, that he dissolved the parliament, and altogether broke with the party which had placed him upon the throne. This required some apology and excuse to the nation at large, and the following Tract puts his justification upon the insults he had received from parliament, as well as the existence of a strong Jacobite party within its walls. The piece would seem to have been published by authority.

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SIR,

As I do fully acquiesce in the wisdom and authority of the king in dissolving the late parliament, so I'm perfectly persuaded that he did it upon motives relating to his own honour, and to the safety and happiness of his people, and not in subserviency to any prerogative design, nor to please himself with an exercise of regal power. And I will venture to say that nothing could have induced him so abruptly, as well as unexpectedly, to have dismissed a parliament that first advanced him unto, and then by so many free and vast contributions endeavoured to support him in the throne, but the finding them unserviceable to the uniting of protestants, the vindicating our laws and liberties, and the punishing of those who had subverted our constitution, which as they are the only justifiable grounds both of his coming hither, and of his accepting the royal authority, so nothing less than pursuing those ends can vindicate his descent into England from being an unrighteous invasion; and his ascending the British throne from the reproach of an ambitious usurpation. How could a prince of his integrity and wisdom think that the obtaining and wearing of a crown was honourable and just, while the reasons upon which he received and possessed it were not only controuled and reproached, but exposed and ridiculed? Nor is it possible for his majesty to believe that the late king was so heinously guilty as to forfeit all right to sovereignty, or those who advised him unto, and were the ministers of all his misgovernment,

whom the law makes chiefly, if not only accountable, were esteemed guiltless and innocent. He could not but foresee that the abdication of King James is easily reversible, and that he himself holds his crown very precariously, if there were nothing to justify the enthroning the one, and the dethroning t'other, but the hasty and arbitrary vote of the majority of the two houses. And he must needs look upon all that was alledged concerning the late king's violating the original contract, and his subverting the laws of the constitution, as fiction and dream, while there were none to be found that counselled him unto or assisted him in it.

And as this justifieth the wisdom of his majesty in the dissolving of the late parliament, so we may from hence easily conclude both upon what prospect and hope he hath been pleased to call a new one, and by what measures those to whom the right of electing members doth belong, are to guide themselves in the ensuing choice. Nor do we only want a parliament that may confirm, establish, and support his majesty in the throne, but which may proceed on those principles as does render his accession to it necessary, as well as honourable and just. And as the nation is once more furnished with an opportunity of chusing such a representative body as may vindicate and assert its ancient laws, rights, and liberties, so there is a fresh advantage offered us of testifying our loyalty to his present majesty, and of promoting his greatness, as well as of providing for our own future safety. I need not tell you that the ends to be proposed in the service of those who are to be elected are, that your throne may be settled upon firm and righteous foundations; and that all his majesty's subjects may live at ease and unity under his government. 'Tis therefore, first, incumbent upon all wise and honest men, that they elect such to represent them, as may both allow and confirm unto the king all the ancient and legal rights of the crown, and yet at the same time recover and secure all those privileges unto the people, which the invading and wresting from them gave occasion unto, and can alone justify the late revolution. Whosoever seeks to enrich the king with the spoils of his subjects, and to adorn him with what our late monarch ravished from them, can design no less than that the same fate should befall him which overtook his predecessor; which is the robbing him first of his people's affections, and then of his own authority. Secondly, 'tis no less the duty than it is the interest of all that would have the nation formidable to its enemies, and the king successful in his undertakings, that they depute and authorise those to act for them in parliament, who, without subverting or undermining the church, may not only preserve unto dissenters that liberty vouchsafed unto them for worshipping God, but who may restore them unto, and vest them in all the common rights and privileges of Englishmen. Nor will it be easy to persuade so great a company of people, that they find their account in the late revolution, unless they be admitted by law to enjoy the same advantages under the present king, which by dispensing with, and an usurpation over the law, they were possessed of under the last. Thirdly, we are to esteem them the fittest of all others to be returned to serve in the ensuing parliament, who are likeliest to maintain in our allies a confidence of us, and to encourage them both to continue the confederacy, and to pursue the ends of it. And, therefore, as we would not give jealousy unto them, and weaken the union amongst themselves and with us, we ought to avoid the chusing of those that have heretofore promoted the grandeur of France, or that have either sought the destruction of the Dutch, or expressed a malice and rancour towards them. Fourthly, as we would not betray both the king and ourselves, we are to chuse none but such who are entirely in his majesty's and in the kingdom's interest; which, as it is impossible to believe of them who acknowledge him only a king in fact, but not by right, so it is not easy to conceive how they should be forward and zealous to support him in the throne, who opposed his coming to it. The enemies to King James's abdication are not like to be true and lasting friends to King William's sovereignty. In short, it is the duty of all that love the present establish-



ment, to be against those whom you find them to be for, that refuse to swear allegiance to their present majesties. Nor are they worthy of the vote of an honest man, who are not satisfied with the protection of the royal power, unless they have both the mastery of it, and the exerting and applying of it to the oppression of their fellow subjects. 'Tis not a king, but a tool under that name which they desire. And instead of allowing him to be the universal and equal ruler of all his people, they seek to reduct and degrade him to be the head of a little and peevish faction. Which that his majesty may be preserved from all temptations unto, through the wise choice of those that are to sit in the following parliament, is the unfeigned desire of,

Sir, your humble servant.

*Berks.*  
Lord Norris.  
*Buckinghamshire.*  
Sir Ralph VERNY.  
*Camb.*  
Sir Levinus Bennet  
Sir Robert Cotton  
Sir Robert Sawyer.  
*Cornwall.*  
Sir Boucher Wrey  
Fran. Roberts  
Sir John St Aubin  
Charles Godolphin  
Nich. Glynn  
John Tanner  
Alexander Pendarvis  
James Praed  
John Rashleigh  
Fran. Vivian  
John Specot  
Sir Jos. Tredenham  
Hen. Seymour  
Sir John Coriton  
John Prideaux.  
*Cumberland.*  
Sir Christ. Musgrave.  
*Derby.*  
John Coke.  
*Devonshire.*  
Sir Edward Seymour  
Christo. Bale  
Sir John Fowell  
Rawlin Mullack  
William Cary  
Henry Nortleigh  
Sir Arthur Chichester  
Edm. Walrond  
Will. Hayn  
Will. Coleman.  
*Dorsetshire.*  
Tho. Strangways

John Pole  
Sir Robert Nappier  
Edward Nicholas  
Rich. Fowns  
Will. Okeden.  
*Durham.*  
Will. Lampton  
Robert Byerley  
George Morland.  
*Gloucestershire.*  
Will. Cook  
Tho. Master  
Sir Fra. Russel.  
*Herefordshire.*  
Hen. Cornwall.  
*Huntingdonshire.*  
John Bigg.  
*Kent.*  
Sir John Banks  
Sir John Twisden,  
Caleb Banks.  
*Lancashire.*  
Fran. Cholmondley  
Sir Edward Chisnal.  
*Leicestershire.*  
Sir Tho. Halford  
Tho. Babington.  
*Lincolnshire.*  
Charles Bertie  
Sir John Brownlow.  
*Middlesex.*  
Sir Charles Gerard  
Ralph Hawtrey.  
*Monmouth.*  
Marquis of Worcester.  
*Norfolk.*  
Sir William Cook  
Sir Nevyl Catlin  
Sir John Turner  
Sir Fran. Guybon.

*Northamptonshire.*  
Edw. Montague  
Gilbert Dolben  
Sir Justinian Isham  
Lord Wenman.  
*Northumberland.*  
Will. Forster  
Philip Brickerstaff  
Sir Ralph Car  
Roger Fenwick.  
*Nottingham.*  
Lord Eland.  
*Oxon.*  
Sir Robert Jenkinson  
Sir Thomas Clarges  
Hen. Berty  
Sir John Doyley.  
*Rutland.*  
Sir Tho. Mackworth.  
*Salop.*  
Edward Kynaston  
Andrew Newport  
Sir Fran. Edwards  
Sir Edward Acton  
George Weld.  
*Somerset.*  
Sir Richard Hart  
Sir John Knight  
Edw. Berkely  
Sir Will. Basset  
Sir Will. Portman  
John Sandford  
Sir Francis Warr.  
Francis Luttrell  
Nathan. Palmer  
Sir Edw. Windham  
Will. Helyar  
John Hunt  
Tho. Sanders.  
*Southampton.*  
Franc. Morley

Sir Benj. Newland  
Sir Robert Holms  
Earl of Ranelagh  
Thomas Done  
Franc. Guin  
William Etrick  
John Pollen.

*Staffordshire.*

John Gray  
Robert Burdet  
John Chetwind  
Sir Henry Gough.

*Suffolk.*

Sir John Cordell  
Sir John Rous  
Sir John Barker  
Tho. Glemham  
Sir Hen. Johnson  
William Johnson  
Sir John Poley  
Thomas Knyvet  
Hen. Pooley  
Sir Robert Davers

Sir Thomas Harvey.  
*Surrey.*

John Weston  
White Tichburn.

*Sussex.*

Sir William Morley  
John Alford  
Charles Goring, jun.  
Will. Morley.

*Warwickshire.*

Sir Richard Verney  
Sir Roger Cave  
Lord Digby  
William Colemore.

*Westmoreland.*

Richard Lowther  
William Cheyne.

*Wiltshire.*

Lord Cornbury  
Robert Hyde  
Richard Lewis  
Peregrine Berty  
Henry Chivers

Walter Grubb  
Charles Fox  
Sir Edm. Warnford  
John Dean  
Sir John Ernle  
Sir George Willoughby

*Worcestershire.*

Henry Parker  
Sir John Matthews.

*Yorkshire.*

Earl of Danby  
Sir John Jennings  
Christopher Tancred.

*Brecon.*

E. Jones of Buckland.  
*Denby.*

Sir Rich. Middleton  
Edward Brehon.

*Glamorgan.*

Thomas Mansell.  
*Pembroke.*  
Sir William Wigan.

*A Vindication of the Proceedings of the late Parliament of England, An. Dom. 1689, being the First in the Reign of their present Majesties King William and Queen Mary. By John Lord Somers.*

It does not appear upon what authority this piece is ascribed to the great lawyer and statesman from whose collection this miscellany was formed. It does not occur in the list of Lord Somers' works given by Walpole, and augmented by Parke, nor in that of the author of his article in the *Biographica Britannica*. But in style and spirit it is not unworthy the great name prefixed to it, and it was a point of Lord Somers' character to be very indifferent towards claiming the literary merit to which he was entitled. It is well known that he composed several political tracts at this important period. His pen was ever ready to serve the public, but with so little regard to his own peculiar fame, that we are ignorant even of the titles of many of his works. Being a general review of the revolution parliament, it is placed before some other tracts on the same subject, though posterior to them in date.

THE proceedings of the late parliament were so fair, so prudent, so necessary, and so advantageous to the nation, to the protestant interest in general, and in particular to the church of England, that all true Englishmen must needs acknowledge they owe to the then representatives of the nation, their privileges, their liberties, their lives, their



religion, their present and future security from popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, had they done nothing else but enacted the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown.

So that it is now, and perhaps but now, that we may call ourselves the free-born subjects of England, as being fully secured for ever by this act, from the heavy and insupportable yoke of arbitrary power, the necessary consequence of a power of dispensing or suspending of laws without consent of parliament.

II. Their settling the crown upon the head of a protestant prince, who is the very centre, the chief prop and pillar of the protestant religion, secures all protestants not only at home, but likewise in all other parts of Europe; insomuch that it is upon him only that we ground all our hopes of seeing, ere long, Lewis XIV. called to a just account for all his unjust, arbitrary, and tyrannical proceedings against his own subjects, as likewise against his injured and weaker neighbours.

III. Their not acting in the least after the example of their neighbours against prelacy, but rather favouring it, by such acts as fit only episcopal men for public employments, gives all reasonable satisfaction to the church of England; without any just offence either given to the dissenters, who, under the present government, enjoy to their own heart's desire, their long-wished-for liberty, without being liable to the lash of the law, for serving God after their own way: Notwithstanding all this, so hard, yea, so impossible a thing it is to content all parties, not a few vent their malice in every corner, yea, and in print too, against the king and parliament, though all their proceedings hitherto tend so directly to the general good of the nation, that we must either want common understanding not to see it, or prove most ungrateful to our representatives not to acknowledge such an evident truth as this is with our most thankful returns. To proceed with some method in this designed vindication of the late parliament, I shall, first, take a summary view of the late condition of our affairs; and, secondly, give a full answer to whatever is maliciously suggested to the unthinking multitude; yea, and in printed pamphlets likewise, to the seducing of the simple, and to the great encouragement of the professed enemies and disturbers of the present government.

IV. If we consider in what condition we were in the two last years of King James's reign, we may remember we were given up for lost by all our friends in Europe, and did think so to ourselves, it being then impossible for us to imagine from whence our relief should come. A power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, was already so fully established, that the very humble petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power, was crime enough for the commitment and prosecution of divers worthy prelates: The court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes was a sort of inquisition; or, at least, a certain forerunner of the new way of converting people, by the irresistible eloquence of armed dragoons: The levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time and in other manner, than the same was granted by the parliament, was nothing else but a preparatory contrivance, to try afterwards a French experiment upon the gold and silver of the nation: The horrible and illegal punishments inflicted by corrupt judges, excessive fines and bails, and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied; and all the other injustices, grievances, and irregularities of those days, were but previous dispositions to the new modelling of the nation into a frame, the more easily to be wrought upon by the Romish priests, in case their weak arguments could not prevail, as 'twas impossible they should have prevailed, in a nation so well provided and stocked with solid learning, both against error and superstition.

V. If this was our condition within ourselves, it was made much worse by the dis-

mal prospect of the threatening French greatness : The French king's known and close engagements with the late King James, the sudden growth of his power both by sea and by land, seemed to threaten all his neighbours with the utmost desolation, unless by laying aside the use of their reason, they acted all like fools and turned papists ; which could not secure them neither from oppression and slavery, since none are greater slaves, nor so unmercifully oppressed as the French papists themselves : This is but a short and summary view of the public calamities and miseries we lay under, till our deliverer came over to free us from them, by the best methods our representatives could fall upon for our safety in times to come ; which are certainly such as give full satisfaction to all good men and loyal subjects, that are not still in love with popery, and slavery both of body and soul, which always attends it : So that the present posture of our affairs is now such, that we have all reason to hope, if we can but agree among ourselves, this kingdom may become again, as 'twas of old, the terror of France. Europe never bid fairer for a level of the French monarch, he being now surrounded on all sides, by those he has made his irreconcilable enemies, by his daily breaches of oaths, by his oppressions and invasions, contrary to all treaties made with him either of peace or truce.

VI. We cannot then but highly commend the prudent measures of the last parliament, for supplying his majesty with necessaries towards a vigorous prosecution of this present war the nation so long wished for in vain ; the French interest prevailing too much formerly at the court of England, against the interest of the protestant religion, and of the English nation. Such then as complain of some present hardships, always unavoidable in time of war, and would fain work the people into a belief of a happier condition under another change of affairs, seem not to understand their true interest ; for must we expose ourselves to a certain ruin, to the loss of our lives and liberties, by not contributing liberally to the maintenance of a war, so necessary in this present juncture of our affairs ? Our all lies now at the stake, our lives, properties, liberties, and religion : Should any tax or impost put us out of humour, and cause us to wish for a change, as if we could pretend to any security, in case things were settled again upon the same foundation they were on before ?

VII. Are we not sufficiently acquainted, from daily experience, with this undoubted popish principle, " That a papist is obliged to break his oath taken not to extirpate heresy, as soon as he is in a capacity to root out what he thinks heresy, under a no less pain than that of eternal damnation ? " King Lewis has satisfied all the world by what he has lately done, that this is no calumny ; and King James cleared all our doubts upon the matter, by what he likewise really did and endeavoured to do.

VIII. But a late seditious pamphlet tells us a tragical story of the decay and loss of trade by this present war, " That the Dutch run away with our trade at sea, and the French with our ships : " This is but a mere groundless flourish, that can only make impression upon some weak minds, that neither understand their own interest, nor that of the nation they are in ; 'tis true we have lost several ships, and that is unavoidable in the beginning of any war as well as in this, till the merchant-men bound homewards are informed of a war declared, which must needs require some time ; but of late we have lost none, or we have taken the equivalent of our losses from the enemy ; and for the time to come his majesty has taken such measures that it shall not be hereafter in the power of the French to put a stop to our trade, either into Holland, Spain, the East Countries, or West and East Indies ; and as for the Dutch, 'tis a groundless supposition, though too often in the mouths of such as are disaffected to the government, " That they run away with our trade, " since the contrary may be easily made out to an unprejudiced mind ; do we not trade still, as well as the Dutch, both in the East and West Indies, to Swedeland, Denmark, Hamburgh, and Poland ? Do the French allow them free passage more than to us ? And if they send abroad greater merchant



fleets, and perhaps under greater convoys, than we do, by so doing they rather lend us a helping hand than wrong us; because in the mean time they clear the seas of French privateers, which makes of course our voyages the safer, and great convoys not so absolutely necessary as they would be at another time, when we were not in union with the Dutch: So that such reflections are either but idle and frothy discourses, or made upon a design to raise sedition, and stir up the nation against the present government. But grant that what this disaffected pamphleteer says were really true, as it is not in the full measure he would have it, let us balance our present decay of trade on the one side, and on the other hand the consequences of not prosecuting vigorously the present war against the French, and we shall easily discover either the gross mistakes of such as discourse after this rate, or their real designs to ruin their country, by preferring a small inconveniency of not so full a trade to the very being of liberty and religion, and perhaps of the nation itself.

IX. For let us allow to this pretended politician, the desired change of government he seems to aim at, this can never happen but in one of these three ways, either by the returning of King James again, or by the invasion of King Lewis, or by a civil war at home; which last thing, if some do really intend, they design nothing else but their own ruin, and that of their country; and if they would have King James to come again, must he come in by conquest? If he ever recovers England by conquest, where are then our properties, our liberties, our religion, our laws, and whatever privileges we now glory in, and that no other subjects in the world can boast of? Would they have King James come in again by agreement? Besides the apparent impossibility of the thing upon several and obvious accounts, I would willingly be satisfied, as I was saying before, how we can trust him after so many violations of his word; and since, by the principles of his religion, he is obliged in conscience not to keep either word given, or oath taken, to protect and promote heresy, if he is once in power to destroy it. If our pamphleteer pretends to a change of government by a French invasion, he must either be a professed French papist, or a very bad English protestant, and quite of a different temper from all true Englishmen, who have stood in opposition from all times to the French interest, not only upon the account of the protestant religion, but likewise because of their civil rights, which both they must of necessity part with, i. e. the French ever got footing in England.

X. I confess, as things now stand, there is little or no danger at all of their attempting the conquest of their ancient conquerors, the English, because of our union at present against France with so many powerful allies; but yet, if we take not hold of this opportunity by the fore-lock, I know not what may happen in another scene of affairs, in case we were left alone to deal with the French; who, by the connivance of the last two reigns, are become so formidable at sea as to be a match either for us or the Hollanders. Now, can any man of reach blame the king for recommending so often to the late parliament, the absolute necessity of prosecuting vigorously the present war, in this present juncture of our affairs, or find fault with the representatives of the nation, for supplying him with the necessary sinews of war, especially since he has offered to give them an account of the disposal of their money, for the very uses they designed it for: Neither can we be jealous of his majesty's design in calling in foreigners, in order to the speedy reduction of Ireland, because 'tis a matter of great consequence for the humbling of France, both by sea and land, together with our allies, to put an end to our domestic broils with all possible expedition; and this cannot be better performed than by joining to our own forces a body of veteran and experienced foreigners.

XI. But this looks, say some of our mal-contents, as if his majesty mistrusted his own subjects, which, if narrowly looked into, is a mere groundless aspersion, since all his majesty's forces, both by sea and land, an inconsiderable number of foreigners ex-

cepted, are natives either of England, Scotland, or Ireland. Does the French king mistrust his own subjects because of his joining with them several foreign nations, as Switzers, Italians, and both English, Scotch, and Irish upon occasion; the true reason of this common practice is, that an army consisting of forces of different nations, is upon this account more formidable than it would be if it consisted of mere natives, that both those foreigners, and the natives, fighting through emulation, leave no stone unturned to outdo one another; the observing of this maxim made the Dutch a free people, to the pitch we see them in at this day. The French likewise owe in part their present greatness to the valour of the English, Scotch, and Switzers, who fighting not so much out of any particular kindness to them, as for their own reputation, were wont to overthrow whatever stood in their way, to the great advantage of the French, under whose pay they then were. Undoubtedly this is his majesty's design in sending for foreigners, that the natives may act their parts the better by emulation and example; so that though it be allowed to be true, as certainly it is, that King William has a sufficient number of his own subjects to reduce Ireland, and those of an unquestionable valour too, yet it is prudence in him to call in strangers, to give life and a new vigour to his armies upon occasion.

XII. But in our case there is another reason not to be dissimbled, why the present government thinks it necessary to make use of foreigners for our assistance; and it is this, that though the nation be full of stout and valiant men that might alone do the business, yet 'tis to be considered in this unparalleled juncture of our affairs, that if we divide the three kingdoms into six parts, two, I doubt, at least, would prove either Jacobites, or disaffected to the present government. Now, what if the king raised an army, consisting in part of Jacobites, or of persons disaffected to the present government, since 'tis hard to know the bottom of men's hearts, what if, I say, this happened, might not such an accident as this, not altogether impossible, endanger the whole nation, and throw it into the greatest confusion imaginable, either by setting up King James again and the French interest, or by converting this ancient and moderate monarchy into a commonwealth, which would prove perhaps no less the ruin of the nation, than an absolute, arbitrary, and tyrannical government? Is it not then more advisable now, and I am sure those that love their religion and the present interest will be of my opinion, to make use of this juncture of foreigners, together with the natives, to keep a little in awe the hidden Jacobites, and such as are disaffected to this government, lest they undertake to ruin the nation upon the first fair opportunity to execute their treasonable and pernicious designs? This complaint of our mal-contented had been more plausible in another juncture of time than in such an one as this is, which once successfully over, and a peace concluded, we are secured by our laws from our own standing forces as well as from foreigners. In the mean time we ought to look to ourselves, as all wise men ought to do, and secure ourselves against pressing and present dangers the best way we can, without minding remoter accidents, and merely possible events, that are not yet so much as in prospect; for upon mere apprehensions and groundless fears of what is never like to happen, to put a veil before our eyes, hindering us to see the brink of the precipice we now stand upon, is an unaccountable piece of folly, or rather madness, that no man having his wits about him can be guilty of; yet we must needs prove guilty of such a piece of madness and folly, if, through a groundless fear of what can never happen in England, as things are now ordered, we should scruple to secure ourselves by the help of foreigners from the Jacobites and the mal-contented, who might perhaps get the upper-hand if not prevented in time, by some good method, as this is now thought to be.

XIII. No farther encroachments upon our rights and privileges are to be feared in time to come, since the bad success of all our late kings is an example to all their successors, wherein they may read their destiny, if they understood so little their own interest



as to act arbitrarily, as some of their predecessors did, to the great disturbance indeed of their subjects for a time, but at last to the utter ruin of themselves and their adherents: His present majesty is so fully persuaded of this truth, viz. that the sovereign's greatness in England depends chiefly and only upon the love of his subjects, that taking his interest and the people's to be the same, as really it is, and always ought to be, to shun the dangerous factions of court and country, he prudently complied with their just desires to whatever they thought fit to be done for the common good. I am then of opinion, that England was never so happy as 'tis now, [laying aside the consideration of the present war so absolutely necessary,] because of the good understanding of the king and his subjects, though our seditious pamphleteer leaves no stone unturned to divide them; who, for he is, he must needs be a man of a strangely disaffected spirit, since he blames the late parliament for allowing his majesty so much power as makes him a true king, and not the bare representation and shadow of one, as he would really be, if, according to the project suggested by this man, he should not be allowed so much as the liberty of choosing his own counsellors, nor of proroguing parliaments either, upon occasion, &c.

XIV. The suspending and stopping, or stabbing as he calls it, of the *habeas corpus* act, puts him in a great fit against the late parliament, as having by this suspension wronged the liberty of the subjects; yet if, before we give our last judgment upon the matter, we consider, as we should do, all things impartially, not suffering ourselves to be biassed by a wrong apprehension of things, we shall easily discover that the suspending of that act, at that time, was the only way to secure our properties and liberties, by preventing a civil and domestick war, which in all likelihood had ensued had it not been prevented in time, by empowering the king to secure such as, because of their quality, or their former engagements with the then malcontents, were likeliest to prove ringleaders to new disturbances, in a time when things were not as yet settled upon so sure a foundation as they now are.

XV. But nothing is more insufferable in this seditious pamphleteer, than his affected jealousy of his majesty's being a sincere protestant, as if the nation should be the more afraid of him upon this account, because forsooth the parliament is likelier to give him more power than if he were a papist, or of a contrary religion to that of the nation. This is such an unaccountable reflection, that I cannot but wonder to hear it from the mouth of any man, that either pretends to common sense or reason: for, first, At this rate of arguing, it would be better for us to have a king we hated and feared, than one of the same religion we loved and were sure of; which is such an absurd inference, that none but a madman can propose it as reasonable. Secondly, Grant what he says to be true, as it is not, our religion, however, is secure, and perhaps the securer the greater power we trust him with. But, thirdly, As our late representatives gave so much power to our glorious deliverer, as made him a king, and a powerful one too, so, on the other hand, they have had so much regard to the safety of the people, as to secure their privileges and civil rights from any future encroachments of the prerogative, as may easily be made out by the late act, declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown.

XVI. The popish subjects are generally so oppressed by their absolute sovereigns, that through an excessive flattery, and fear of blows, they seem to worship their kings as gods, allowing them an illimited power, which no man of sense can admit of in a being of a limited nature, or at least allowing them to be the fathers and absolute masters of their people, though the kings generally came out of the people's loins, as being at first made by them, and not the people out of theirs; and though subjects ought not to lord it over their sovereigns as masters, yet they ought not to be their slaves neither, but are to enjoy under their government such privileges and liberties as may settle them in an unalterable state of happiness, that the princes themselves may not destroy